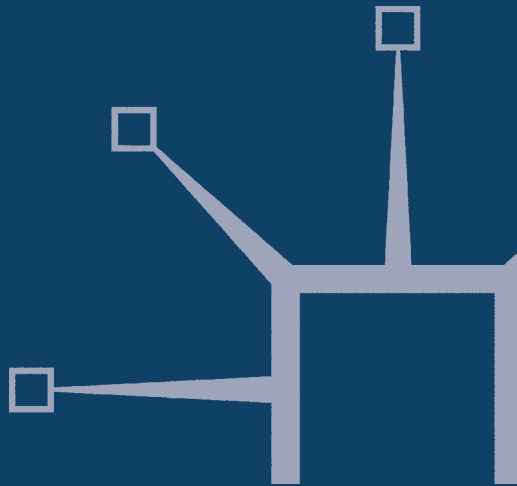


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Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia

J. Eric Cooper and Michael J. Decker



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*For my family, who have always offered more than ever asked,
and to my dear friends for just that: your friendship!*

For Katy

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List of Abbreviations

AA	<i>Anatolian Archaeology</i>
AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AnatSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
AO	<i>Archaeology Odyssey</i>
ArchA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AST	<i>Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CA	<i>Cahiers archéologiques</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>Carm.</i>	Gregory of Nazianzos, <i>Carmina</i>
CHBE	<i>Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire</i> , ed. J. Shepard, <i>The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500–1492</i> (Cambridge, 2008).
CJ	<i>Codex Justinianus</i> (= <i>Corpus Iuris Civilis</i> 2).
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
CTh	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
DAI	Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, <i>De Administrando Imperio</i>
<i>De Aed.</i>	Prokopios of Caesarea, <i>De Aedificiis</i>
<i>De Cerem.</i>	Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, <i>De ceremoniis</i>
DHA	<i>Dossiers d'Histoire et d'Archéologie</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>Edict</i>	<i>Edicta</i> , Appendix to <i>Novellae</i>

- EHB* *Economic History of Byzantium*, eds A. Laiou and C. Bouras, *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 2002).
- her* *Economic History Review*
- EI2* *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, ed. H.A.R. Gibb (Leiden, 1954–)
- Elr* *Encyclopaedia Iranica*: ed. Ehsan Yarshater <http://www.iranicaonline.org>
- Ep.* *Epistulae*
- Expositio* *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*
- FHG* *Fragmenta*
- GOTR* *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
- GRBS* *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
- HE* *Historia ecclesiastica*
- Hist. rel.* *Historia religiosa*
- JAC* *Journal of Agrarian Change*
- ESHO* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
- JÖB* *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- JSav* *Journal des Savants*
- MM* *Monuments et Memoires*
- N.H.* Pliny, *Natural History*
- Nov.* *Novellae Consitutiones*
- OCA* *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
- OCD* *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1996).
- ODB* *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A.P. Kazhdan (Washington, D.C., 1991)
- Or.* *Oration*
- PBE* *The Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire 1, 641–876* ed. J.R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I: (641–867)* [digital edition] (Aldershot, Hants., U.K., 2001), continued by: *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*

ed. Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
(Berlin, 1998–).

- PG* *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca* ed. J.-P. Migne
PLRE *Prosopography of the Late Roman Empire*, eds A.H.M. Jones,
J.R. Martindale, J. Morris (Cambridge, 1971–2).
PO *Patrologia Orientalis*
REB *Revue des études byzantines*
RN *Revue numismatique*
ROC *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*
SR Basil of Caesarea, *Asketikon, Short Rules*
TM *Travaux et mémoires*
VC *Vigiliae Christianae*

Introduction

Cappadocia was, to borrow a phrase of one scholar, the periphery in the centre.¹ Considered rude and marginal by the urban elites who constructed late antique and medieval culture, and in turn generally ignored in literature then and now, Cappadocia produced as many as seven emperors and its clans dominated political life for a century at the apogee of Byzantine power. Despite its central role in Byzantine history, to date no scholarly work explores the history of Cappadocia during this period. This book attempts to help fill this notable void in late antique and Byzantine studies through an examination of the material remains and written sources which in turn inform our analysis of aspects of the economic, ecclesiastical, and elite underpinnings of Cappadocian life. To tell this tale would obviously be easier (and it would be fuller in the telling) with more evidence from texts and more work done on the ground. But scholarship is slowly making progress and permits a preliminary study like ours. Given the state of the evidence, ours is a beginning step and certainly not intended to be the last word. We are certain, as generations of unflagging academics have proved, that generous readers and reviewers will sound the claxon and alert us to the numerous shortcomings of the work.

Our sources permit focus predominantly on elites – in short, those who have access to substantial social power to a greater degree and more often than the vast majority of the population (on this see Chapters 6 and 7).² We use textual and material evidence throughout and, where possible, we have drawn on these data to cast light on slivers of the existence of the powerless, but these are quite limited and made difficult in the extreme due to the state of the sources. In the end, however, we hope to offer a balanced view into aspects of major portions of society in Byzantine Cappadocia, what the Byzantines themselves categorised

2 *Life and Society in Byzantine Cappadocia*

as the three distinct classes, and what is commonly known in the post-Duby world of the medieval West as those who work, those who pray, and those who fight. The first chapter serves as a general backdrop and covers basic geography of the region, settlement types, history of major centres, and population. The next two chapters address land use in terms of agriculture and industry (Chapter 2) and animal rearing (Chapter 3). Long-standing views about the region's lack of fertility, desolation, and poverty are challenged. Part II comprises Chapters 4 and 5 and explores religious life, respectively discussing monasticism – for which the region is famous – and the church. Cappadocian religiosity is brought into context of both the material culture and written sources, and the singularly monastic habitation so commonly accepted is confronted. Part III consists of the last two chapters (Chapters 6 and 7), which delve into the elite, first examining them in view of the region and finally bringing them into context of the wider empire. Their daily lives, how they perceived and portrayed themselves, how they lived, and their interaction locally and on a wider stage are explored.

Discussion is limited to Late Antiquity through the Battle of Mantzikert, the serious defeat of the Byzantine emperor Romanos IV in 1071 at the hands of the Seljuk Turks, after which Cappadocia was lost to the Byzantine state. In other words, this book is about aspects of Cappadocian life as evidenced by physical and written material from *ca* the fourth through *ca* the eleventh centuries AD. Though we do hopefully add to debates about centre-periphery and powerful and poor in some small way, these are not our focus.³ Covering such breadth in time, especially in view of space limitations, has naturally resulted in sacrifices. Exploration of the potentially beneficial financial ramifications for the elite resulting in the formation of the imperial estates (*kouratoria* and *episkepseis*) in the tenth century and deeper investigation into the nature of the post-stations (*mansiones/stathmoi*) are but two examples of many issues, large and small, that require further work. Archaeological surveys along the frontier borders, full study of the fortresses dotting the land, and a variety of other endeavours are largely undone.

Before we can start the journey into Cappadocia's past, however, a few words are warranted regarding the nature of the available evidence and some of the challenges posed.

Evidence: the written sources

Literary sources produced in Cappadocia are rare and especially so after the fourth century, when we have the work of the Cappadocian Fathers,

Basil of Caesarea, Gregory Nazianzos, and Gregory of Nyssa to provide precious insights into life there. Afterwards, our sources are more generalised to the empire as a whole and though there are a few texts written by Cappadocians in the Middle Byzantine era, these often provide only glimpses of social conditions. The fate of ordinary people is almost completely absent from most sources.

The written sources for Cappadocia occasionally mention people, places, or events within the region, but rarely provide prolonged discussion. We are thus forced to comb through the many histories, saints' *Lives*, and so forth to glean what we can. So too for the legal documents, wills, strategic manuals, lists of precedence, and so forth. We are able to expand upon what the Byzantines wrote by examining other contemporary, earlier and later written documents, particularly Arabic and Syriac sources. But despite this seemingly abundant source material, the fact is that the picture is all too often incomplete. Specific details are left unmentioned; specifically described sites unlocalised. Even sources that should give an accurate picture on issues related to Cappadocia may not be as entirely trustworthy as one might expect.

A handful of Arabic texts do provide notices of conflict in the region or provide useful nuggets of information about Byzantine Cappadocia. We have utilised many of these, particularly in discussion of the political situation along the frontiers of the Dark Ages and Middle Byzantine era.

Evidence: archaeological

Much more abundant than the textual evidence is that from material sources. Archaeological evidence poses its own set of issues, depending on what kind of material it is. Archaeologists generally rely heavily on ceramic studies and to a lesser degree on numismatics (coins). But Byzantine Cappadocia is effectively aceramic in terms of publication; the vast majority of Byzantine ceramic finds are unprovenanced, untested, out of context, unrecognised, or a combination thereof. One also wonders if various finds simply were not published. One result for Cappadocian assemblages is that there are no pottery sequences for either coarse-wares or fine-wares. Such a gap in knowledge means that there is no opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of occupational sequences and settlement patterns. Nor do we possess the valuable insights so successfully achieved elsewhere through careful pottery analysis, such as that by Hayes at Saraçhane, illuminating local, regional and long-distance exchange.⁴ The lack of a clearly defined pottery sequence thus particularly impacts two areas of our discussion: site

analysis (including settlements and individual complexes), and economic frameworks.⁵ Until systematic ceramic chronologies are worked out that build on the work of scholars like Vroom and Armstrong and utilise excavated material and intensive survey rather than large-scale regional and site-based recording, we will lack a nuanced picture of settlement and economic life in Byzantine Anatolia.⁶

Similar remarks can be made regarding the lack of coin finds associated with Cappadocian sites. Certainly, as in the case for pottery, part of the apparent scarcity of finds owes to the relatively few excavations conducted in the region, and easily accessible sites typically have been scoured clean over the centuries. However, coins are also inherently valuable and can be sold or recycled, which further render them rare. Moreover, a great majority of the Byzantine coins allegedly found in rock-cut sites, particularly in subterranean cities, either have been lost or improperly recorded. Most coins from Byzantine Cappadocia have no firm archaeological context. Due to their lack of contextualisation, the data provided by these finds, while valuable, are often less instructive than one could hope. The Cappadocian numismatic material is anonymous and too scant to offer meaningful information; it thus is excluded largely from discussion.

In fact there are very few items of any kind from the period that have been properly recorded and reported for archaeological purposes in Cappadocia. Take for example the scant Byzantine material presented in publications from Tyana, Melitene, and Topakli, the focus of which is upon earlier periods or, if they do include Byzantine material, do not publish full ceramic data and other crucial chronological indicators.⁷ The work of Ousterhout at Çanlı Kilise and Rosada and Lachin in Tyana are examples of a new generation of work that offers more advanced methodologies and scientific rigour upon which future studies can build.⁸

Built and rock-cut sites

Cappadocia as a whole is poorly explored in terms of Byzantine remains, whereas neighbouring regions such as Galatia, Paphlagonia, and the Konya Plain have been investigated archaeologically, most notably in the form of survey, to a relatively high degree and have provided significant data and insight about Byzantine settlements in their respective areas.⁹

The most thorough archaeological treatment of Byzantine Cappadocia remains the second volume of the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* series, by H. Hild and M. Restle, which lists hundreds of sites within Cappadocia.¹⁰

The information provided is from the written sources, scholarly articles, archaeological reports, and some personal visitation by the authors. Yet the vast majority of the region remains uncovered. The result is that smaller Byzantine villages and other such sites that have escaped mention in the written sources remain unknown to us. Despite this shortfall, the work is invaluable for the information that it does convey, but with more limited usefulness for assessing types of settlement, settlement density and land use.¹¹

Adding in varying degrees to the data are surveys of more limited scope, such as the work conducted by D'Alfonso north of Tyana.¹² However, the overwhelming majority of archaeological investigations that have been conducted within the region are confined generally to Rocky Cappadocia (roughly defined as the south-central region, whose limits are Aksaray on the west, the Caesarea-Tyana road on the east and Niğde to the south), primarily because of the substantial amount of extant architectural remains. The thematic survey project by the *Società Speleologica Italiana*, which investigated numerous rock-cut sites, including settlements and hydrogeological engineering, is still the largest survey of its kind.¹³ Recent work by Ousterhout, Equini Schneider, and Kalas has provided further insight regarding Byzantine settlement and domestic architecture.¹⁴ Despite such efforts, more surveys and fresh sites excavated using modern techniques are needed to ameliorate dark gaps in our vision.

How are Cappadocian sites dated? There are very few extant Byzantine built structures, and it is impractical – if not impossible – to excavate extensively and consistently in modern urban sites to unearth more. And even though archaeometrical testing, for example carbon-dating, and stratigraphic sequencing, are essentially nonexistent, it sometimes is possible to compare the building style and other architectural elements with examples outside Cappadocia.

In contrast, numerous rock-cut sites dot the landscape of Rocky Cappadocia, but the great majority of these sites lack architectural features that are diagnostic for dating. A plainly excavated cavity is anonymous and could date back millennia just as easily as decades. Since the written sources provide no aid in identifying or dating specific structures encountered in Cappadocia, the material record becomes the only source of data. An underlying premise employed for dating anonymous rock-cut structures is occupational persistence. In other words, it is important that a structure or system was occupied during the period under examination; not who initially excavated it. Items such as graves can be telling, as can certain architectural features. The most obvious indicator of Byzantine-inhabited rock-cut structures is the church, and by

extension those structures associated with it. In such cases, attributions are given to the chronological range of occupation or use and not to initial formation. But such low resolution of chronology (attributions spanning multiple centuries) is unsatisfying and often insufficient for the needs at hand. However, interior features such as chancel screens and painted decoration can be useful in narrowing down a date. And more generally, when dating churches and non-ecclesiastical structures, features such as floor plans, facades, and particular carved decorative motifs sometimes can be used, although typically with still less precision than desired. Better dating results often occur in the presence of painted decoration and inscriptions, which are discussed in-text.

Seals and sigillography

Byzantine sigillography (the study of Byzantine document seals) remains both art and science. Certainly, the poorer the condition of the seal, the more dating and interpreting that seal become an art.¹⁵ Yet the study of Cappadocia is aided by the sigillographic evidence in several ways. Most obviously, we gain knowledge of many civil, military, and church officials who are otherwise unmentioned in the sources. We also can expand knowledge about certain aspects such as family dynasties in the region or notable areas of interest to the government like taxation and resource extraction. Sometimes indications about when the Byzantine administrative districts did or did not change are also revealed. Vexingly, however, we do not have any seals properly recorded from a site within Cappadocia. All of the known seals representing people or offices within the region were found outside of it, with the vast majority of Cappadocian seals found in and around the former imperial capital Constantinople. And while we know that seals were often kept in archives – evidence of such archives is found also at Mt Athos, Preslav, Cherson, Caesarea Maritima, and probably Carthage and Trebizond – we do not know the nature of the archives or why these seals were retained (with their respective documents). We can say, however, that archives typically received a variety of material but did not keep everything, and in the case of the Cappadocian sigillographic corpus the vast majority of material retained was from higher-level officials, whether they be civil, military or religious. This is not at all surprising since the Cappadocian seals essentially were found at the imperial capital, but the result is that we have basically no indication from the seals of the more middle and junior ranks that were certainly active in the region.¹⁶

Indeed, looking at the entire corpus of Cappadocian seals strongly suggests that the record is far from complete. In terms of general

numbers, the provinces and themes from the region show notably fewer seals than many others; this is particularly evident for the theme of Kappadokia. Chronology also appears clustered, for example there are precious few seals spanning the seventh through ninth centuries and a relative explosion of them for the eleventh. So, too, for offices, some of which are entirely missing from the region or represented by only one or two. In the case of the *chrysoteles*, a cash-based tax official, the paucity may reflect the low level of monetisation of Cappadocia. Nevertheless, only three seals represent the office for the entire region: one from Koloneia and two from Charsianon.¹⁷

Since archives were maintained at churches, monasteries, and civil and military centres, we can hope that an archive will one day be found in Cappadocia. Perhaps more likely are smaller or single finds at various sites, which would still be useful. Provincial sites and archives may have contained a substantially larger portion of middle-ranking seals than those in Constantinople, and thereby help fill the gap.¹⁸ While such finds remain a desideratum, and despite the shortfalls mentioned, seals nevertheless remain an important, and often underused, category of evidence.

Style, Cappadocia vs Kappadokia, references, and illustrations

Throughout the work we have generally referenced primary sources in notes. In some instances where major sources are frequently raised, we have opted to place references in-text so as to reduce the number of notes. In Greek transliteration we have usually followed the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. In transcribing Greek and Arabic we have elected to use a simple system that eliminates macrons and complex script. It should be noted that we use the term 'Cappadocia' to designate the region and 'Kappadokia' to refer to the theme; any exceptions to this should be clear in the text. Finally, due to the limitations of space, we have kept our illustrations to the minimum. To produce more would not have been practical in a volume of this nature. We have also tried to keep our citations and notes limited. All dates, unless otherwise specified, are AD.

Part I

1

‘A Vast and Admirable Land’

How famous the name and nation of the Cappadocians was, and how much trouble they caused the Romans before they were conquered is well known to students of antiquity. They ruled nearly all of Pontus and produced celebrated men worthy of respect of the Romans. Their land is vast and admirable....

Justinian, *Novel 30 Proem*¹

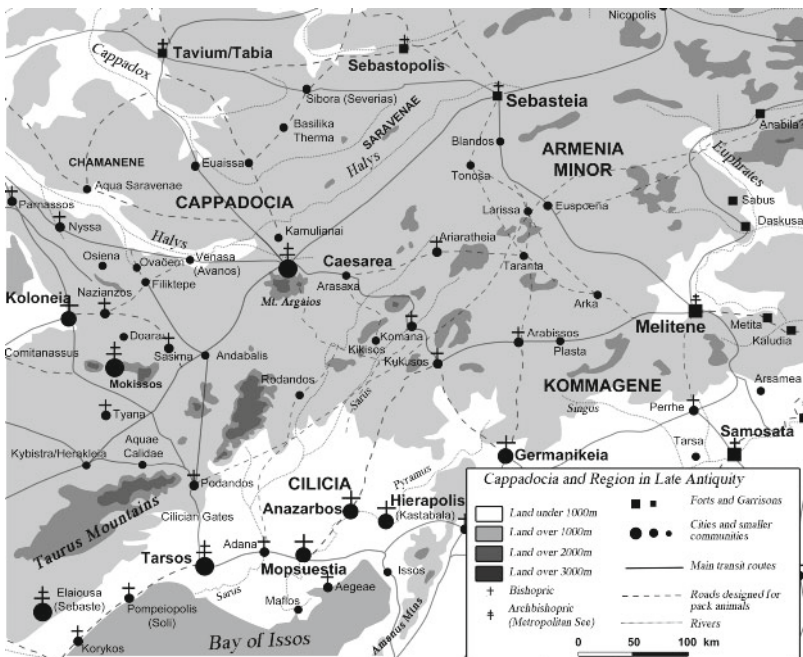
In AD 371 one of Cappadocia’s famous sons, the bishop and future saint Basil, groused in a letter to a colleague that he had been snowed in for two months in the notoriously bitter upland winter. Today, the throngs of tourists abandon the picturesque grottos and wind-carved dells in the early autumn; the pensions and restaurants shutter in expectation of the white winter that closes the mountain passes and buries the land in quiet. Cappadocia was a vast place (about 91,000 km² or 35,000 miles²) that one traversed as quickly as possible. Whereas the Mediterranean littoral received little snow, had abundant ports, and was ringed with cities, Cappadocia was windswept, landlocked, and rural. It was a land whose openness was daunting, whose lack of cities was disconcerting, and whose landlocked altitude made the coast-loving civilisations of antiquity decidedly uncomfortable. Culturally the place was a blend of Anatolian, Persian, and Greek influence; the coarse plateau lacked the refinement that Greeks and Romans saw in the cities of the Levant. The olive – the quintessential botanical symbol of Mediterranean civilisation – would not grow there due to altitude and the cold. And just as striking, Cappadocia’s vast herds of horses, cattle, and camels made it seem more like the steppe where the barbarians lived than part of Roman dominions. It was weird.

Physically Cappadocia possesses a great variety of landscapes. An ancient traveller trudging from the Aegean coastlands eastwards over the Roman trunk road (the same route as the old Achaemenid Persian 'Royal Road') would arrive at Cappadocia when he or she attained the eastern end of the Tuz Gölü, the great salt lake some 1600 km² (620 miles²) in area. Crudely defined, Cappadocia spread east of Tuz Gölü to Melitene (modern Eski Malatya) on the Euphrates, and from the lofty Pontus range in the north to the Taurus in the south. In its midst ran the Halys River (Greek Halys, Turkish Kızılırmak) whose 1100 km flow makes it the longest river in Anatolia and among the longer waterways in the world. Though it drains more than 75,000 km², the Halys is not a great river. Its annual average discharge of around 200 m³ per second makes the Halys but a feeble torrent when compared to its near cousin the Tigris, which runs about the same length, yet carries five times more water. Its low flow and constriction meant that the Halys was never destined to nurture a great hydraulic-based empire along its banks.

Jutting from the high plains and hill country are the two highest peaks in central Anatolia. About 60 km southeast of Tuz Gölü, Mt Hasan (Hasan Dağı) rises to an elevation of 3253 m (10,672 ft). Hasan Dağı, Mt Argaios to the ancients, is a stratovolcano (a cone built up of successive layers of ejecta) that overlooks a broad stretch of plains that formed the fertile hinterland of Byzantine Koloneia (modern Aksaray). Another Mt Argaios, *the* Mt Argaios, (today Mt Erciyes – Turkish Erciyes Dağı) juts 3916 m (12,848 ft) into the azure sky and looms over modern Kayseri, the successor to Roman and Byzantine Caesarea, which lies 25 km to the north. Foothills and rolling country lie around, with most of the region higher than 800 m above sea level. The elevation, scant surface water, and distance from the sea made the uplands dry. The general lack of cloud cover exposed humans and animals to intense light, especially damaging ultra violet rays, and heightened the contrast between the bright, warm summers and stark, cold winters. Temperature variations were extreme, both seasonally and diurnally: winters averaged -2° C and summer highs hover around 30° C while night-time temperatures often dropped by half. Rainfall was scattered and sparse. From 1961 to 90, Kayseri received an annual average precipitation of 387 mm, a bit more than the 250 mm minimum required for the dry farming of cereal grains. The snow pack in the uplands was highly variable and an additional vulnerability, without it many of the springs and streams, too few in the first place, would dry up. Unseasonable weather meant

a sudden melt and flooding, like that reported in a letter attributed to St Basil that swept away a key bridge over the Halys and isolated Caesarea from its northern neighbours.²

If our ancient traveller followed the Halys from its great northern bend, the journey of more than 160 km (100 miles) eastward to Caesarea would take him or her through rolling country, with plains broken by chains of hills and bound to the north and south by considerable peaks. The long march to the end of the territory, at Melitene and the shoulder of the Euphrates river valley, was another 250 km beyond Caesarea, a distance that a lightly encumbered voyager would have walked in perhaps four and a half days. Travellers on imperial business, farmers taking their merchandise to market, relatives visiting family elsewhere in the empire, mendicant pedlars, soldiers, and priests serving their scattered communities traversed a network of roads and trackways of varying quality, the main branch of which was a metalled surface maintained by the state and wealthy landowners (see Map 1.1).



Map 1.1 Late antique Cappadocia

Since the mountains walled off the Mediterranean coast, nearly all roads were funnelled through the central highlands; a major branch led from Ankyra (modern Ankara) along the high country of the southern flank of the Pontic range, then through the insignificant station of Korniaspa which marked the northeast limits of Galatia to Sebasteia (modern Sivas), the most important settlement in northern Cappadocia. The central route passed through Caesarea, and a southern fork struck through Koloneia. Caesarea was a nexus of communication where three major routes intersected from west, south, and east. Since the coastal mountains funnelled traffic over the plateau, one could not avoid Cappadocia by heading towards the Mediterranean; even the main southern artery from Ikonion (modern Konya) passed through the southwestern corner of the region and through the last Cappadocian city in the south, Podandos, on the flanks of the Taurus Mountains. Thence, one could leave the semi-arid highlands behind and travel to the warmth of the Cilician plain, the gateway to wealthy Syria.

As one passed through the southern portion, there were tablelands, foothills, eroded badlands, and the undulating rock folds of soft tufa that wind and water had carved over the centuries into the mottled, striking landscape of Rocky Cappadocia, which comprised much of the southwestern quadrant of the region from Koloneia to Caesarea and south to Tyana. There, over the centuries, the sheet of volcanic layers had eroded into a warren of small valleys and stony recesses punctuated by small rock steeples into which the inhabitants burrowed cave dwellings. It was another peculiar feature of life in the most peculiar of places: Greeks and Romans did not live in holes, no matter how elaborate or comfortable. The dryness, the remoteness, the lack of cities, the inhabited caves were all strange: for a 'civilised' Greek or Roman, one might as well have been on the moon. In their underground habitations, the people of Byzantine Cappadocia followed a pattern established in remote antiquity that continued on through the Seljuk and Ottoman periods and persists today, in which rock-cut complexes are reused, refurbished, and reoccupied.

The strange geography was accompanied by a polyglot people. The echoes of native Cappadocian could be heard into the sixth century and perhaps beyond. Persian was deeply rooted as well. Alexander the Great left a legacy of uneven Hellenism in the region, which meant that though Greek was spoken, it would not truly dominate the countryside until Late Antiquity – and it would never be the exclusive tongue in the region. And Armenian reached into the land, especially along the borders, to add yet another component to the spoken word.

Cities and settlement

Roman and late antique cities

Though the otherworldly and sometimes harsh environment of Cappadocia presented a striking contrast to more civilised Roman lands, a fundamental, persistent issue in Roman governance and acculturation was the urban fabric and its traditional role in administrative control. Rome was an empire with an administrative apparatus fixed in developed cities and their respective *territoria*, and there was an inherent symbiotic relationship between the urban centre and the orbiting villages and rural landscape. Cities, with their installed organs of administration, markets, and various civil amenities held prominence and provided specific means to install Roman civilisation and control the territory. The complexion of early Cappadocia was decidedly wanting in this regard, though the dynamics imposed by too few cities and a multitude of villages were nothing new or unique to Cappadocia. To varying degrees, all of Anatolia and Syria posed similar situations. Nevertheless, Cappadocia was sufficiently different that it posed its own set of challenges.

In the first century of Roman rule, there were only four major 'cities' for the entire, vast region: Caesarea (Mazaka), Koloneia, Melitene (Melid), and Tyana (Tuwanuwa).³ All four dated to Hittite or earlier times as population centres and owed their existence in no small part to being nexuses at the confluence of ancient major roadways. They were distinctly not Roman and moreover reflected the region's Persian ties. Caesarea, or Mazaka before the Romans claimed it, comprised various large palatial-type complexes segregated from each other and delineated and populated according to clans.⁴ There was no coherent system in place, and the entire affair more resembled a camp. Koloneia was certainly similarly composed, as it was formally made a 'city' by the last Cappadocian king Archelaos (d. AD 17), whose base was Mazaka (Caesarea). Koloneia was undoubtedly remodelled and given an orthogonal grid when a Roman colony was established there under Claudius. Melid, the predecessor of Melitene, however, was a hilltop fortified centre entirely insufficient for Roman needs. A new site nearby was chosen for a legionary base that would grow into the late antique city of Melitene. Tyana was the most Hellenised, and thus the closest specimen to a proper Roman city, but the dearth of data obscures how deep the resemblance truly was. Considering the profound Persian influence and sympathies at Tyana (see below), Hellenism there may have been more of a veneer overlying a deep Persian undercurrent.⁵

The concentration of wealth and power in these centres had long asserted an inherent primacy over their respective *territoria*, and thus made them the logical focal points of Roman efforts and natural administrative capitals. These four cities consequently received essential and substantial governmental and civic infrastructure, and some form of installed military presence, and were important centres throughout Late Antiquity.

Caesarea was the highest ranked church in all of Anatolia until the Council of Chalcedon, and received considerable and recurrent investment throughout the centuries in terms of buildings and infrastructure. The city was at the convergence of major roadways, a natural destination when travelling through the region whether it be north-south or east-west, and dominated the area. In Late Antiquity, Caesarea may have contained some 50,000 inhabitants (see below). It was also a frequent target, but the city managed to thrive despite being a victim of internecine Roman-Sasanian conflict that resulted in particularly substantial destruction by Shapur I's army in AD 260. The old city witnessed an unusual physical expansion during the fourth century due to the numerous foundations of Basil of Caesarea (discussed below), which added to the city's regional importance. Later, Justinian (527–65) strengthened the city walls.⁶ Koloneia, originally established by the last Cappadocian king Archelaos, was named a Roman colony under Claudius (41–54) and must then have received Latin-speaking settlers.⁷ Roman (and Byzantine) Melitene grew up on the site now occupied by Eski Malatya, a few kilometres from the modern city centre. The heart of its urban life through much of the Roman period was the legionary garrison of the *Legio XII Fulminata* that called the city home from the first through the fifth centuries, the last century of which the city also served as the capital of Armenia II. In the sixth century Prokopios (*De Aed.* III.v.18–20) noted a substantial settlement that had long outgrown the walls and exhibited an open, classical urbanism with markets, public buildings, temples, stoas, baths, and theatres. In 536, after Anastasios and Justinian provided the city with a set of walls, Melitene was elevated to the capital of Armenia III. These fortifications did not prevent the Sasanian sack of the city in 575, but Melitene recovered and in 591 Maurice made it the seat of government of Armenia I.⁸ Tyana became a well-known centre of Hellenism during Antiquity as the birthplace of the famous first-century polytheist saint Apollonios, who gained fame as a philosopher and later as saviour of the city. In 272 Emperor Aurelian captured Tyana, which had allied first with the Sasanian Persians and then with Queen Zenobia of

Palmyra, but refrained from sacking it after being visited by a vision of Apollonios.⁹ Yet the city's standing really owed to its situation in the midst of the fertile plains of the south and its strategic importance – it was a major stop on the road linking Anatolia with Cilicia on the way to Syria through the Cilician Gates. These factors must have influenced Valens in 371 to make Tyana the metropolis over the new province Cappadocia II.

The annexation of Cappadocia, as opposed to direct conquest, meant that a land tenurial system and a largely intact populace were already in place in the region, which may explain why so few colonies were established. In addition to Koloneia, the Romans established a late colony at the village of Halala near Tyana where, in 176, Marcus Aurelius brought in settlers and built the city of Phaustinopolis (today Başmakç) to commemorate his wife Annia Galeria Faustina who had died there. Since the place lay only 20 km south of Tyana it could never develop into much of a thriving centre. In addition, few early Roman attempts at new urban centres met with success. Pompey founded the city Sebasteia (Sebaste, originally named Megalopolis) in the first century BC to fill a glaring void in the north; the denser population in the area and an important road system enabled the elevation of a thriving village up to a viable city. In the Diocletianic reorganisation of the empire, Sebasteia was made the capital of Armenia I, with six dependencies, and maintained prominence as the primary settlement in the area. In the Justinianic reshuffling of the eastern region during 536, Sebasteia became capital of Armenia II and was also refortified (*De Aed.* III.iv.11).¹⁰

During Late Antiquity the traditional organs of administration were still being installed in the region. The imperial authorities attempted through various efforts to increase their reach. No scheme was more audacious than that of Valens, who intended to raise the imperial estate centre Podandos to the capital of Cappadocia II. Justinian enacted a similar arrangement; Prokopios (*De Aed.* V.iv.15) records that the emperor renamed the village of Mokissos to Justinianopolis (Byzantine Mokissos; today Viranşehir), which he made an ecclesiastical metropolis. The place is dominated by a large citadel, probably the one described by the sixth-century historian Prokopios, who noted that Emperor Justinian remodelled the city and built there a fortress (*phrourion*) and a hospice (*xenodocheion*). The ruins at Viranşehir are striking – a tumble of crudely worked black basalt overlooking a natural drainage area where waters ran off the mountain slopes – and are intriguing in part because Mokissos represents local Anatolian building traditions and regional architectural expressions as well as cosmopolitan influences. Most

Cappadocian cities probably looked similar to the appearance hinted at by the ruins of Mokissos.

As the status of city became increasingly associated with the presence of a bishop, Cappadocia finally appeared to contain a meaningful number of urban centres. As many as 40 bishoprics are recorded in the episcopal lists (*notitiae*) for Cappadocia at one time or another. Since only 'cities' were to have bishops, the appearance from the ecclesiastical lists is of fairly deep urbanism throughout the land. Yet the reality was that most so-called cities were anything but that, and the lists in this regard were effectively an accounting manoeuvre. Here one example will suffice: the dusty little 'one-horse' way station of Sasima (today Hasanköy). It was a minor stop on the route from Ankyra to Isauria, yet was a bishopric in the fourth century when it was feuded over by St Basil and Anthimos, the bishop of Tyana who claimed the 'city' lay within the jurisdiction of the newly established province of Cappadocia Secunda. Gregory of Nazianzos leaves little doubt about the nature of the place:

There is a post station on the middle of the main road to Cappadocia, where it divides into three branches, waterless, stark, and not completely free – a thoroughly abominable, one-horse town, all dust and noise and wagons, laments, groans, tax-collectors, torture wracks, shackles, peopled by foreigners and vagabonds. This was my church at Sasima.¹¹

In assessing those centres that became successful Roman cities a few noteworthy items come forth. They were situated in areas already relatively densely populated for centuries; all fell along vital and ancient roadways, typically forming the nexus of converging routes. Their hinterlands were either particularly fecund or prime pasture lands, and they fit inherently with the underlying system long established in Cappadocia. The infusion of civil infrastructure complemented this inertia. Many of these sites were made administrative capitals and received intensive investment for centuries to make them viable. Often, that included the presence of the military, whose influence was cultural and financial in addition to the presence of more bodies tied into the local environment. Installation of church administration in these centres benefitted from a growing Christian populace, which created yet another attractive quality to reinforce the relationships to the surrounding countryside. In contrast, those sites that failed to attain a real, persistent urban status ultimately lacked one or more of these qualities.

Podandos is a telling example. The environs were lightly settled and poorly developed when Valens mandated the forced relocation of many curials there. Despite the attempt to create a 'civilised' polity out of a relative void, the settlement remained an imperial estate centre (*regio*) into the sixth century.¹²

One particularly noteworthy element of Cappadocian habitation is missing from the above discussion. Since time immemorial, many Cappadocians burrowed into the ground to create their living space, which was more efficient than quarrying stone for a built site, and excavated tufa made good fertiliser. The resulting abode was insulated from the elements to a degree far greater than the built mud-brick or stone houses of the plateau, and subterranean expansion was relatively easy – no building materials were needed to work further horizontally or vertically. The largest such rock-cut settlements were subterranean towns, defined here as likely containing at least 1000 people. 'Town' is a more appropriate term for these large subterranean urban centres than city because the latter, the ancient and medieval Greek *polis*, referred to settlements that maintained official government administrative functions or, from Late Antiquity at least, hosted a bishop. To date there is no evidence that any of the 16 underground towns known from archaeology had either: none appear in the order of bishops in Cappadocia and Armenia, nor do they appear in the fifth-century city list of Hesychios of Alexandria, nor that of the seventh-century George of Cyprus (see below). This is not to say that the underground towns of Cappadocia were insignificant in terms of population or economic importance – on the contrary, many of them equalled or exceeded the above-ground cities that governed them. For example, the vast troglodytic town of Malakopia (modern Derinkuyu) hosted a relatively sizable population of up to 20,000 people but was never a governmental or official church node, despite the wide range of private economic and religious activity attested from the remains there. In this regard Malakopia is not atypical; many troglodytic establishments were likely larger than many of their above-ground administrative superiors.

The reluctance of Roman and Byzantine officials to designate any troglodytic centre a *polis* owed to cultural rather than material considerations. The Hellenistic and Roman model of urbanism required cities, no matter how small or insignificant they were otherwise, be built environments with clear articulation of public spaces and at least a clear view of the stars to their credit. Despite their lack of civic status and peculiarity to Cappadocia, the troglodytic towns share certain features with cities. They were populous and locally important economically.

They were typically situated on or near the major highways of the region. They were internally connected; tunnels were the main communication arteries that replaced the streets of the surface cities. Underground towns also maintained clearly delineated public, private, and secular space, just like built cities. And like cities, they had common 'public' infrastructure – namely water and waste facilities; certain shafts at Derinkuyu, for example, connected to a substantial underground river some 50–60 m wide and 8 km long that could serve as both water source and waste disposal.¹³

At some point during the Roman period or possibly the earlier half of Late Antiquity, an attempt was made to bridge the cultural gap between what constituted a city and the Cappadocian propensity for subterranean dwelling. The underground centres of Gelveri and Tatlarin are noteworthy, in that they contain formal toilets extremely similar to those found throughout the Roman world. No other underground town possesses such an overt feature of Roman culture, but there is no indication, such as in the written sources and *notitiae*, that either Gelveri or Tatlarin were ever accorded civic status. The particulars of how the toilets came to be in Gelveri and Tatlarin remain unknown, but the clear assertion of Roman culture and the apparent lack of civic status at these two sites corroborate that underground towns were never destined to be made cities.¹⁴

The attempt to extend the network of cities in Cappadocia was thus literally superficial, as it failed to penetrate the earth and embrace and exploit the subterranean towns. This was a missed opportunity of considerable significance. The 16 known subterranean towns meant at least 16 more potential administrative centres. In general, these sites were removed from their built cousins and thus would have greatly augmented the number of relatively substantial populations with direct governance. More importantly, however, is that the subterranean towns appear to have been integrated into the landscape analogously to built cities. That is, they had numerous villages within their territorial catchments. These villages typically were small, and often rock-cut, but they proliferated the countryside and surely interacted with their larger subterranean siblings much like a standing village in orbit of a built city. Full city status to these underground towns, then, may have afforded a vastly broader reach into the otherwise wide open spaces in which local elites and their men incessantly drew the ire of emperors. From the start, then, governance was patchy and banditry and petty elite warlords based in fortified centres characterised much of the region.

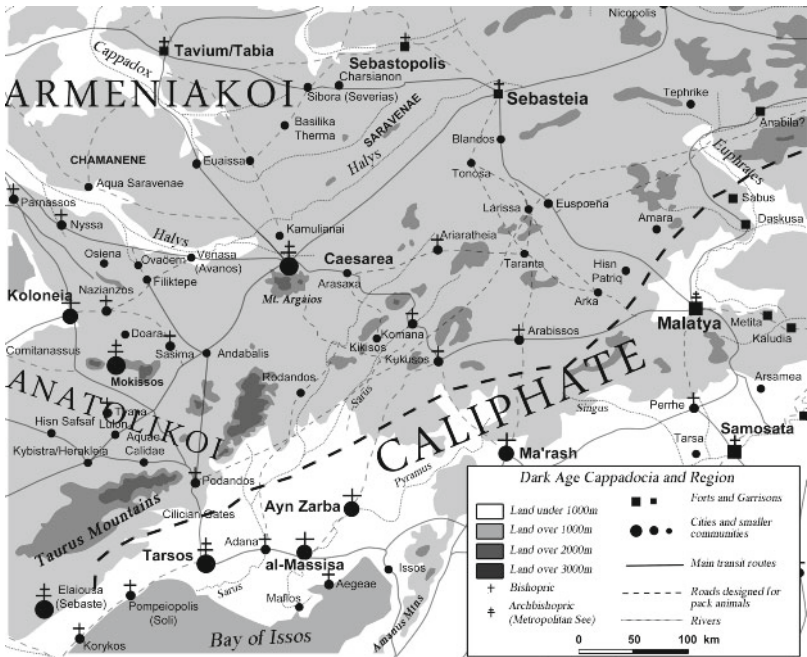
Dark Age cities and settlement

The seventh century fundamentally altered the fortunes and face of the empire. The Persian Wars of the 610s and 620s had placed Cappadocia on the frontline of a bitter, sustained conflict, a position the region had not occupied since the first century.¹⁵ Herakleios used Caesarea and other points in the region as recruiting and logistics centres, and he clearly knew the region intimately. During the Persian War, the emperor's family connections apparently offered local knowledge and influence that were key in recruiting and obtaining materiel, which helps explain how it is that administrators could muster the men and levy the supplies that they did in Cappadocia in spite of the disruption and devastation in parts of the region caused by the protracted struggle – indicating a territory both resilient and productive when approached with the right connections and knowledge.

As traumatic as the Persian invasions had been, they were eclipsed by the arrival of the Muslim Arab armies in the mid-seventh century, the ensuing breakdown of the civil and military order, and colossal displacement of population. The soldiers and families of the eastern field armies, namely those of Armenia and the East, were withdrawn further west. Though much debate remains regarding the origin of the *themes* (administrative districts which eventually replaced the late antique province structure) and all aspects of their early administration and military nature, Cappadocia I had, for a time from 536, been under the rule of a proconsul who essentially controlled all aspects of civil and military government.¹⁶

A brief overview of the thematic division of Cappadocia lends some sense of changing administrative priorities, and these in turn are reflective of the ebb and flow of Byzantine-Arab warfare (see Map 1.2). Most of Cappadocia fell into the seventh-century theme of the Armeniakon, which encompassed much of the Halys valley as well as Pontus.¹⁷ The western fringes of former Cappadocia II belonged to the Anatolikon theme centred on Amorium.¹⁸ Efforts were made to secure the passes of the Taurus and Antitaurus through the creation of *kleisourai*, local military commands charged with guarding the frontier or passages within the themes. At one time or another, most important exposed positions (Symposion, Tzamandos, Larissa, Podandos, and others) were *kleisourai*. Nearly all of these would later become themes, like Amara, after Basil I seized it from the Paulicians.

By 830 Cappadocia was again divided to create the new theme of Kappadokia, with its garrison originally quartered at Nyssa. However,



Map 1.2 Dark Age Cappadocia

Nyssa was sacked by the Arabs in 838 and consequently superseded as the thematic capital by Koron, near present-day Niğde. The new capital repeatedly endured Arab attack throughout the ninth century but managed to survive.¹⁹ Sometime after 873 Leo VI (886–912) truncated the themes of Bukellarian, Kappadokia, and Armeniakon in order to create the new theme of Charsianon. The reforms of Leo VI, as described by Constantine VII, rendered a theme of Kappadokia and Charsianon that closely paralleled the old boundaries of the late antique provinces of Cappadocia I and II.²⁰ The site of Charsianon, the eponymous capital, lay somewhere north of Caesarea not far from the Halys.²¹

Despite the upheavals of the Dark Ages and Middle Byzantine periods, the ecclesiastical *notitiae* depict a rather static picture of continuity, but other textual and material sources indicate considerable dynamism. It is not always clear whether substantial shifts in settlement were expressions of imperial policy or communal response to crisis or opportunity. What is certain is that during the seventh through ninth centuries, Muslim attack on Cappadocia was regular and prolonged and that the

cities, filled with potential loot and captives, were prime targets. In 646 the governor of Syria, Mu'awiya, attacked Caesarea and apparently caught the citizens by surprise.²² Khalifa ibn Khayyat reports an unsuccessful attack on Caesarea by 'Abdallah b. Asad in 681/2, but in 725/6 Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik (685–738) sacked the city.²³ In 738/9 Sa'id b. Hisham attacked Caesarea, and though the damage done is unknown, it was the fifth major attack in a century suffered by the former capital; there may well have been others not recorded in the sources. The border warfare in the context of local history has been discussed by others, and here it suffices to say that the annual *razzias* were intermingled with major campaigns that struck from one end of the country to the other and forced widespread adaptation.²⁴

By the mid-ninth century, the war of attrition between Byzantines and Arabs had taken its toll on the highland cities and villages, especially those along the favourite Arab lines of march. The preferred early route into the highlands was the main road running from the Cilician Gates to Koloneia via Podandos and Tyana, which was destroyed in 838 and never regained its former glory, though it continued to be listed in the *notitiae* as if unperturbed by the Muslim storm. Other settlements in the region suffered as well: the ancient city of Phaustinopolis saw its population and bishop flee to nearby hilltop refuges such as Lulon and the fortress of Jerjum.²⁵ Recent archaeological work in northern Tyanitis supports the notion of inhabitants fleeing to higher ground where they re-established themselves.²⁶ Some other inhabitants likely settled in the heavily fortified site of Koron, which may have been founded only after the advent of the Arab conquests.²⁷ This should make us wary about concluding that Tyana maintained a significant ecclesiastical or civil presence, or any durable urban institutions throughout the later ninth and tenth centuries. The strategic importance of the city's position to the heartlands of the empire was highlighted in 831, when it was not only sacked but fully invested by Muslim forces. Tyana became a substantial Arab fortification that garrisoned an army – a knife pressed against a major artery of Byzantium. Fortune, however, intervened when the newly risen caliph al-Mu'tasim needed to consolidate his power; the fort was destroyed and the army recalled. Although this event afforded the Cappadocian hinterlands a sigh of relief, the prevailing notion is that Tyana irretrievably declined. But the discovery of fragments of a chancel screen dated on stylistic grounds to the tenth century and excavations of a recently discovered baptistry indicate the site's continued use until the arrival of the Seljuks.²⁸ Tyana was able to recover somewhat its place as a relatively important agricultural and

communications centre. The glory of Tyana nevertheless had vanished; in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods the city probably never hosted a population of more than a few thousands, when it was replaced by a number of nearby settlements.

Mokissos, whose important physical remains seem to be early and middle Byzantine, may have fared similarly to Tyana. Remnants of scores of houses, tombs, and cisterns litter a large area of many hectares. The churches directly below the citadel were apparently built in Late Antiquity, and a few other churches and graves might date from *ca* the seventh to the tenth centuries, during which time other structures comprised of spolia also might have been used. But the only structure that seems to provide more firm indication of Middle Period activity is Church 21, to which was added a crypt; in none of the other cases of modifications to churches can we be certain of the date in which the changes took place. The renovation of Church 21 indicates continued economic and social activity after the sixth century, but of unknown duration or extent. Berger sees the Arab sacks of the city in 703 and 830 as the time when the old Justinianic centre declined, and satellite sites grew up on the fringes of the old urban centre reflecting this decay.²⁹

The case of Herakleia (also called Kybistra) is quite different. The city was sacked for the first time in 708 and fell again in 714/15. The site was destroyed in 806 by Harun al-Rashid and its territory again ravaged in 831, but the city was once more rebuilt and 50 years later witnessed a sharp clash between Byzantines and Muslims.³⁰ Material remains of glass and pottery reveal only hints of the settlement that persisted.³¹

In the east, Byzantines and Arabs played tug of war over Melitene. Muslim forces under 'Iyad b. Ghanm grabbed Melitene, but their hold was ephemeral and the Byzantines quickly retook it. Not to be deterred, the Muslims under Mu'awiya finally established a garrison in the city, perhaps in 653/4, and are said to have based a squadron of cavalry there. But the Arab colony was abandoned sometime during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik (685–705). Hisham (723–43) is said to have restored the city once again, but the occupation was briefly interrupted in 752 by the bold forays of Constantine V, who drove the Muslims from Melitene and destroyed it and the nearby fortress of Kaludia (Claudia). The reprieve brought by Constantine V lasted only a few years, however, and in 756/7 al-Mansur established a garrison of 4000 horsemen. This substantial 'Abbasid outpost kept Melitene in Muslim hands for nearly two centuries, during which time it posed a considerable threat to the empire.³²

Along the vast marches that separated Caesarea from Melitene, settlement was sparser and the empire and Caliphate raided across no-man's

land. While many of the region's inhabitants were killed, enslaved, or perished at the hands of war's companions – pestilence and famine – others no doubt remained or fled north and west. Sebasteia in the north, however, does not feature prominently in the Muslim attacks on the empire. It may be that the region possessed a much-reduced population following the initial seventh-century onslaught of Muslim attacks, or it could have been generally too remote for Muslim armies, which mostly entered from Cilicia and less often Melitene. But Sebasteia was not immune to the bitter conflict raging throughout the land, for Muhammad ibn Marwan sacked the city in 692 after defeating the forces of Justinian II.

With the exception of the short stint of Nyssa that lasted perhaps less than a decade, it is noteworthy that the capitals of the themes of Kappadokia and later Charsianon (Koron and Charsianon, respectively) were not at the major urban centres of the respective territories as was done in other themes. Instead, the headquarters were located at new sites, heavily fortified and tactically separated from the major Cappadocian cities. This change in practice was undoubtedly intended to help protect the major cities still under Byzantine control in the most vulnerable portion of the empire, in effect acting as a shield. Koron – and the general area in which Charsianon *Kastron* is believed to have been situated – fall in the lines of apparently extensive series of fortresses guarding the major roadways into and through Cappadocia and hence leading directly to the major cities of the region. Koron was placed forward of Koloneia, effectively monitoring the bifurcating route from Podandos to Koloneia, and had a train of fortresses (*kastra*) extending south, which evidently included at least three unpublished sites: one near Balçı, another about 10 km southeast of Gedelli, and the third east of Koçak. Charsianon was generally located along the eastern approach to Caesarea, able to interdict before a force reached the great city from either the eastern or northeastern roads. There was also a series of *kastra* extending beyond Charsianon towards the frontier. This strategy of defence-in-depth was well underway by the early decades of the ninth century.³³

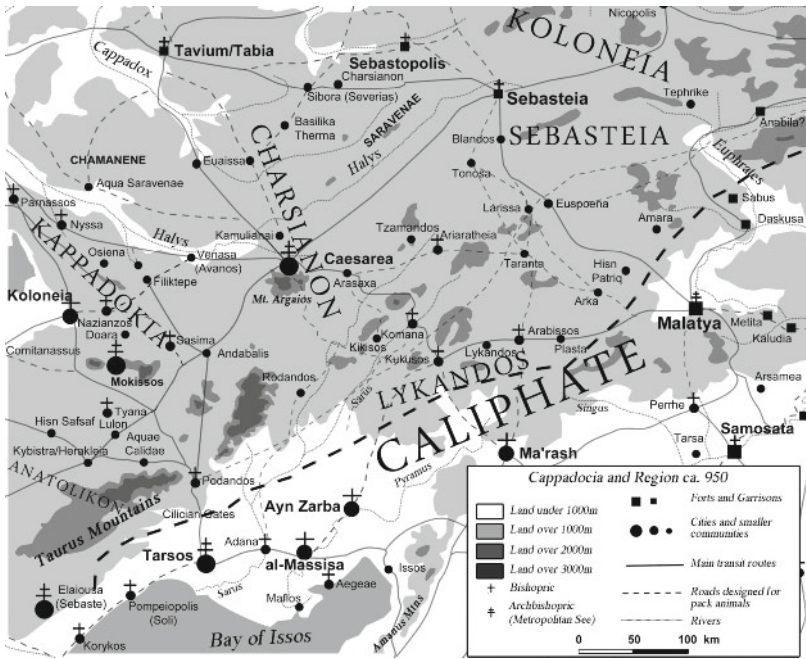
Discussion about Byzantine urbanism during the Dark Ages has long been one of decline or transformation. There is no doubt that throughout the empire the classical city of Late Antiquity came to be replaced by a different looking organism. Gone were the theatres, stoas, and baths of great centres, and in their place were affairs often constructed from spoliated remains inhabited by fewer people. The role of the city also changed, from Hellenised loci of cultural expression to increasingly

Christian spaces where the church came to define public space. Yet for Cappadocia, the settlement transition from Late Antiquity to the Dark Ages and Middle Period was less radical than that experienced elsewhere. Certainly, the devastation of Tyana and loss of Melitene were tremendous blows to the fabric of Cappadocia. Two of the four original urban centres were lost along with their hinterlands, and the scorched-earth policy sometimes employed lessened or outright extinguished other population centres. The vulnerable frontier regions witnessed varying degrees of migration and displacement that in extreme cases resulted in deserted no-man's lands. However, new sites sprouted elsewhere in the region, such as Koron and Charsianon, and others discussed below. *Kastra* such as Hisn as-Safsaf and perhaps those by Balcı, Gedelli, and Koçak served as foci of small settlements, while larger communities coalesced around major fortified sites like Kybistra. The movement of people, whether evacuation or migration or forced depopulation of areas, tended to see them established elsewhere in the region. As other regions of Byzantium ruralised, they came to resemble what Cappadocia had always looked like. And like Sasanian Persia, Byzantium was long to be an empire effectively administered through villages and not cities. Cappadocia had been so managed for centuries.

Medieval period cities and settlement

By the mid-tenth century the region had witnessed substantial changes in organisation (see Map 1.3). The eastern portions of Cappadocia were administered through the themes of Koloneia (from 863), Sebaste (Sebasteia – a *kleisoura* in 908; a theme in 911), and Lykandos (a *kleisoura* in 911; a theme in 916).³⁴ Settlement was also affected. In his 944 and 951 campaigns Sayf ad-Dawla ravaged Arabissos and its environs, after which Arabissos was replaced by Plasta (modern Elbistan).³⁵ Elsewhere, Melias and John Argyros forcibly resettled much of the huge triangle of land bound by Larissa, Tzamandos, and Lykandos, an area that also included the rehabilitated late antique centre of Symposion.³⁶ Though not all of these foundations were *de novo*, several clearly were, and even older settlements like Symposion were neither particularly large nor important prior to the *drang nach Osten* of the tenth century.

Indeed, the prolonged conflict evidently resulted in the intensification of urban centres in Cappadocia. The military foundation of the *kastron* of Charsianon evolved into a city where there was a civilian population: Kedrenos called Charsianon a *polis* and mentions the raid of Sayf al-Dawla that burned the city from the 'Iron' district, destroying the church of St Thomas the Apostle.³⁷ Charsianon persisted throughout



Map 1.3 Medieval Cappadocia

the empire's hold on the region, as did other settlements that were new creations, such as Tzamandos, developed during the early tenth century along with Symposion, Larissa, and Lykandos. Lykandos lay close to the old Byzantine site of Arabissos, one of the cities of the old Hexapolis of former Armenia II, that functioned as a *klesoura* possibly as early as the seventh century. In the tenth century, Podandos was called *phourion* (fortress or refuge) by Constantine VII and was, by 975, the seat of a *strategos*.³⁸ John Tzimiskes made Podandos once again the centre of an imperial estate complex that included territories in Cilicia, and this domain continued to function in some capacity into the period of the Komneni, whence a seal of an estate manager is known.³⁹ A ruin field and fragments of milestones are the only physical remains presently known from the area.⁴⁰

In 934, after repeated attempts, the general John Kurkuas finally retook Melitene; the Arab garrison departed peacefully and the double-wall circuit was torn down. Archaeologically, little survives. Sinclair noted wide swathes of ruins in the environs but did not examine them to discern their origin or what structures they might have been. However,

in 1061/2 Constantine X Doukas (1059–67) refortified Melitene, which probably entailed reconstructing the old early Byzantine-Arab period double wall and moat system. Details about the rest of the settlement are scant, but textual evidence provides some light on the urban fabric. During the reign of Nikephoros Phokas (963–9), the Jacobite bishop Ignatios built a monastery and great church in the city, the dome of which was restored by Syrian Christians some decades after they once again took possession of the building from the Chalcedonians. Literary sources also note the existence in Melitene of a church of St George and a monastery of the Assumption.⁴¹ Byzantium retained Melitene until after the loss at Mantzikert in 1071. Shortly thereafter a Byzantine Armenian named Gabriel of Melitene arose from the army and became governor of what was effectively a city state until the Danishmends took it in 1101. Melitene forever ceased to be Byzantine.

The plan published by Gabriel probably reflects the fortified circuit of the eleventh-century Byzantine city and is interesting because so few later urban remains survive from eastern Anatolia. The circuit (see Figure 1.1) encloses an area of about 35 ha, roughly half the size of the important Anatolian centre of Amorium. A city of such a size was probably home to 10–12,000 people *intra muros* and had a territorial population of perhaps an additional 80,000. This is a conservative estimate to be certain, reflective of the eleventh-century crisis in Byzantine Anatolia that climaxed in the disastrous Battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The city of a century earlier may well have been twice as populous.⁴²

The fortune of Sebasteia is less well understood. Jerphanion early in the twentieth century noted that Byzantine remains survived only in the form of spolia of little diagnostic value incorporated into Seljuk structures; the importance of Seljuk Sivas (Sebasteia), however, suggests a considerable population there from the Byzantine era.⁴³ Not long after Jerphanion, Gabriel toured Sivas and provided a hypothetical plan of the medieval city based on his observations of the topography and ancient wall fragments. Possibly the circuit as reconstructed reflects the Justinianic city, but if so, the foundations would have been utilised in several phases, since the city was unwalled in 1059 when it was first conquered by the Turks.⁴⁴ Simeon of Poland, an Armenian born in Poland who travelled extensively in the early seventeenth century, mentions two monasteries, including a Monastery of the Holy Archangel said to have been constructed by King Senek'erim of Vaspurakan in the eleventh century.⁴⁵

In 1617 Simeon of Poland visited Kayseri (Byzantine Caesarea) and noted the citadel, called the 'inner city', which seems to correspond

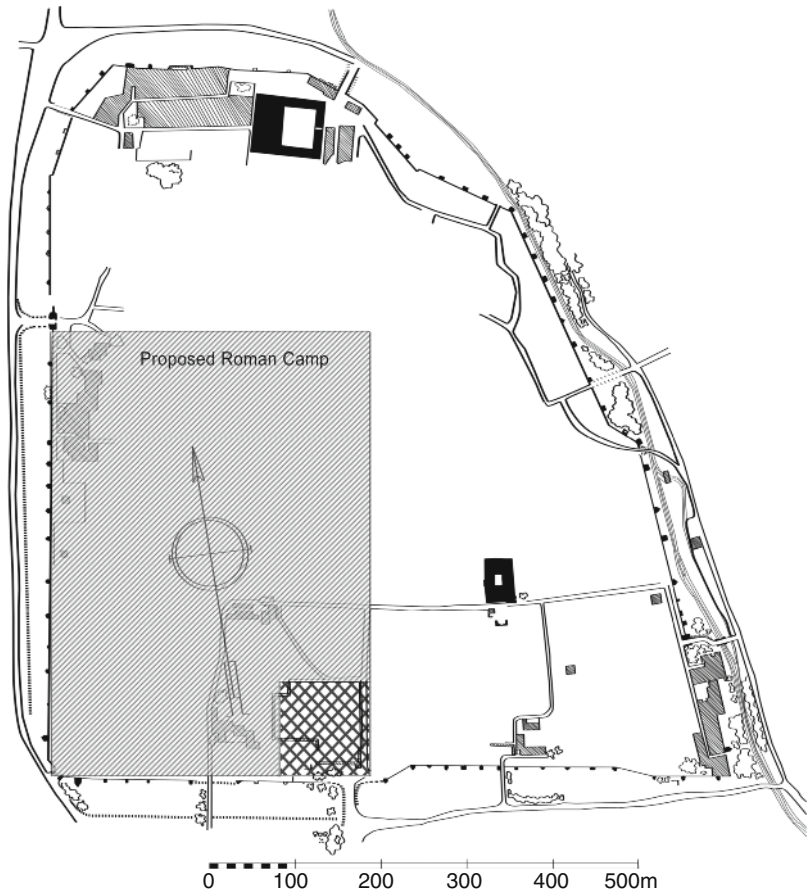


Figure 1.1 Melitene

with the citadel that stands today in the city centre where the Danishmends and Seljuks had remodelled an earlier Byzantine fortress. Simeon also noted an 'outer' city, likewise walled, that probably corresponds to the late antique walled settlement, portions of which were found, along with remains of an aqueduct, by Ballance. This inner-fortress and outer-town form is also the conclusion reached by Gabriel, whose ground plan of the old city-centre offers a notion of the size of the Byzantine settlement.⁴⁶ By Simeon's time, once-mighty Caesarea had seen better days – the traveller painted a picture of its inhabitants as squalid and unconcerned to renovate their dilapidated city, which

had suffered tremendously under the Turkmens and Mongols. He noted two churches in Kayseri, one dedicated to St Sergios and another to St Anastasios – both were reached by ladders that took one below-ground. His description is worth quoting:

The houses are built from raw bricks; the doors are low, so that one has to bow down when entering. That is why the city is becoming ruined and depopulated. There are inns, shops, stalls, a cloth market, and goldsmith shops, but few people visible in them ... The holy tomb of Barsegh [Basil] of Caesarea is outside the city. There was a large church facing it on its eastern side. It is now in ruins and Armenians bury their dead there. Its stones have been removed for the construction of the citadel. On the south side, beyond the wall, stands the large church of the holy warrior Merkurios, whose tomb is located inside. It is also in ruins; only a small dome remains. There is an altar over the holy tomb, where every Monday the entire city visits with incense and candles.⁴⁷

The tomb of St Basil was probably within the large, new fourth-century conurbation of 'Basilopolis' (Basileias) that grew up around the numerous charitable institutions, monasteries, and churches he founded in the suburbs of Caesarea. The number of Christian holy sites and ruins, a half-millennium after the end of Byzantine rule, is considerable. Simeon noted the further remains of many churches and holy places, including the tomb of St Thekla on Mt Argaios. All lay in ruins. He also saw vast caves and cliffs on the site of ancient Caesarea, still surrounded by numerous holy sites and places of pilgrimage. And he was impressed by the natural fecundity of the vicinity of Mt Argaios, with its ubiquitous vineyards from which the local Armenian Christians made plenty of wine.

Nearly three centuries later, in 1907, Bernardakis visited Kayseri. What remains Simeon had seen were further degraded. Bernardakis believed that most of the Byzantine ruins belonged to an area southwest of the walled centre that Gabriel perceived to be the Justinianic city – that is, the citadel area that forms the heart of today's city. Bernardakis is certainly correct in his view that the area that the surviving curtain wall protects is far too small to have formed the circuit of late antique Caesarea. He also noted the remains of a Monastery of the Virgin, a possible bath house, a church of the Panagia, a church of St Mamas, martyrs' shrines, and probable houses of the Byzantine period. In addition, he observed three extensive subterranean tunnels and at least

one subterranean chamber cut under the former Byzantine city, which were associated with built churches. The only other remains of obvious late antique or early Byzantine origin were Christian cemeteries. The hand of subsequent cultures combined with the passing of time to subsume this Byzantine city almost entirely. By the 1920s the only trace of Byzantine Caesarea was the foundations of a large cathedral church, used if not built around the tenth century – and even those have since disappeared.⁴⁸

The extensive remains seen by Simeon, Gabriel *et al.* must have been used or occupied to have survived the many centuries since they were built. Further, the number of ruins that managed to avoid spoliation as late as the seventeenth century suggest that Caesarea had maintained a substantial urban complexion throughout its Byzantine history. While the prestige and prominence in Byzantium that the city had in Late Antiquity may have dulled, Caesarea nevertheless remained vital and perhaps housed over 50,000 people during the tenth century at its high-point in the Middle Period (see below).

By the eleventh century, the imperial drive eastwards had left Cappadocia once again relatively removed from the frontier and a region that was increasingly demilitarised. Caesarea lay more than 600 km west of fateful Mantzikert, and between the former and the frontier lay a constellation of new, small themes that shielded the old heart of the empire and made the danger of the Seljuk Turks and Marwanids seem far away indeed. As Cappadocia was lost to Byzantium over the succeeding centuries, the cities of the region fell one by one. But archaeologically, depressingly little remains and nothing of sufficient value to offer scope for analysis. At Larissa, portions of a twelfth- or thirteenth-century monastery church have survived, but no other material evidence is known.⁴⁹ At Lykandos, part of the curtain wall is visible but little else. Likewise, at Symposion, a fragmentary medieval wall is all that apparently remains of the middle Byzantine settlement. A handful of fragments of a middle Byzantine relief and columns comprise the only Byzantine finds known among the largely Seljuk-era ruins at Tzamandos.⁵⁰

Villages and redoubts

Below the *polis* (and town) were smaller settlements, such as the *kome* or *chorion*, for which there is almost no evidence indicating what legal status such sites held in Byzantine times in Cappadocia. The majority of people had dwelt in such villages – settlements with a population under 1000 – which were more accommodating to pastoral and agricultural

pursuits well before the Romans came. These villages, both built and rock-cut, dotted the landscape and varied just as greatly in population as the cities, ranging from a handful of people to hundreds. However, there are few remains of Byzantine built-villages known in the region. The Bolkar Dağları holds the remnants of several Byzantine (eighth to eleventh centuries and some probably earlier) villages, many of which were mining settlements that worked the silver, lead, and tin ores of the region. And several dwellings, detected through their foundations, are known at Ovaören (see below).⁵¹

In contrast to scant built remains, abundant rock-cut villages survive and their persistence reveals a landscape rich in settlement. There are three general, basic types of rock-cut village: subterranean, cliff, and cone. The subterranean village is merely a smaller version of the subterranean town, with a population under *ca* 1000. To be sure, the underground towns started as subterranean villages that subsequently grew. However, scholarship has failed to distinguish between village and town in this context, which has led to a distorted view of Byzantine Cappadocian settlement. Many small underground settlements are simply called cities, implying significant sizes and populations: good examples of this are the small site of Yesilöz-Ören, which contains perhaps 12 rooms and had a population capacity of *ca* 50–100 people, and Mazıköy, where the known levels of which apparently held far less than 1000 people (500 seems far more realistic).⁵² Cliff villages, in which networks of chambers are carved into the faces of cliffs, show equal variety in population sizes. Most cliff villages are difficult to access, but probably did not have populations surpassing 1000 people. In contrast, cone villages (see Figure 1.2), comprised of hollowed-out tuff projections or cone formations, typically display population capacities under 100 due to the nature of how cones are formed; it is unusual to find more than a handful of suitably sized cones in a particular area.

All three village types are ubiquitous in Rocky Cappadocia and not uncommon in other portions of the region where the geography is suitable. Moreover, their inherent protective features were of tremendous benefit in a land long plagued with insecurity.

All three types of villages were inherently camouflaged by their low profile – they presented to the uninitiated observer little to see but a few blank windows or cave-like entrances. Subterranean villages (and their larger relatives the towns) were literally beneath notice. From a distance, especially in indirect light, cone villages also can be almost undetectable, and much the same can be said for cliff villages. Indeed, Dervent Valley near Ürgüp, long considered uninhabited throughout its



Figure 1.2 Cone village

history, experienced a rockslide that revealed part of a cliff settlement in 2001. One of the chambers visible preserved a carved cross indicating a Byzantine phase of occupation, which had remained undetected despite centuries of traffic within metres of the site.⁵³ In addition to an inherent stealthiness, these village types were often difficult to access. Subterranean and cliff villages were frequently protected by various combinations of smaller tunnels, millstone doors, and various architectural features designed to hinder a would-be intruder. Where the terrain permitted, cone villages and some cliff villages utilised shallow hand-and-foot ladders chiselled into the living rock or ropes ladders or lines dangled from above. For the former, it would be tremendously difficult to ascend encumbered or when stones were dropped from above, while the latter could simply be raised to make access quite problematic.

Built villages were not so inherently protected as their rock-cut cousins, but a remarkable Cappadocian settlement feature called the *redoubt* was frequently employed as a means of providing short-term security for village denizens. Redoubts are rock-cut and characterised by defensible entryways, discrete units, and employment of millstone doors in conjunction with angled passages to maximise protection against breaches. These systems typically are not self-sufficient, evident

in their wanting one or more of the architectural features required for permanent habitation, most notably wells or other permanent water supplies. Most redoubt systems known are located near built settlements, though some associated with rock-cut villages are known, and have relatively small population capacities. In other words, redoubts were used by villages as temporary refuges.⁵⁴

Such sites frequent the Cappadocian landscape, but only a few have been published. Ovaören (formerly Göstesin), 48 km southwest of Gülşehir, provides the best example owing to its relatively simple design and the extant remains (see Figure 1.3). Rising above the local flat ground is a 20 m-high butte, in which are carved several discrete refuge systems attributed to the Byzantine era due to the rock-cut church along the northern portion of the formation. Each system typically comprises a small network of chambers, or 'unities', at each end; tunnels, in turn, connect these unities. As Figure 1.3 illustrates, *in situ* millstone doors secure nearly every tunnel, and escape ways are associated with each unity. However, special indentations designed for the millstone doors are found at every tunnel entryway, indicating that several doors have disappeared over the centuries (a common phenomenon in the region). The arrangement of millstone doors not only protected against the outside, but also effected compartmentalisation: each unity could be sealed off from its partner in the event of an enemy breaching one portion of the system. Furthermore, systems typically were discrete, so that if an entire system of unities were compromised, the enemy had to start anew to breach another. Thus, capturing the whole site required seizing each portion individually – not an easy task with such a fortified structure.⁵⁵

The population capacity of redoubt systems varied. Ovaören, excavated on only one level, has a noticeably higher proportion of storage facilities to living space than found in other types of subterranean systems, and has no wells or other form of permanent water supply. The chambers are generally small, too, with the largest rooms ranging between 15 and 35 m², and the many smaller chambers connected to the larger rooms and along the tunnels measuring 4–9 m².⁵⁶ These redoubts did not harbour many people, probably less than 20 people per unity. What makes Ovaören so important is that there are the remains of architecturally distinct Byzantine (or earlier) houses, each of which lies within 30 m and is associated to a particular unity, providing further evidence that other redoubts now found in isolation probably belonged to built villages.⁵⁷

Cappadocians were pragmatic people, and the redoubt was often designed to serve more quotidian uses in addition to the sporadic need

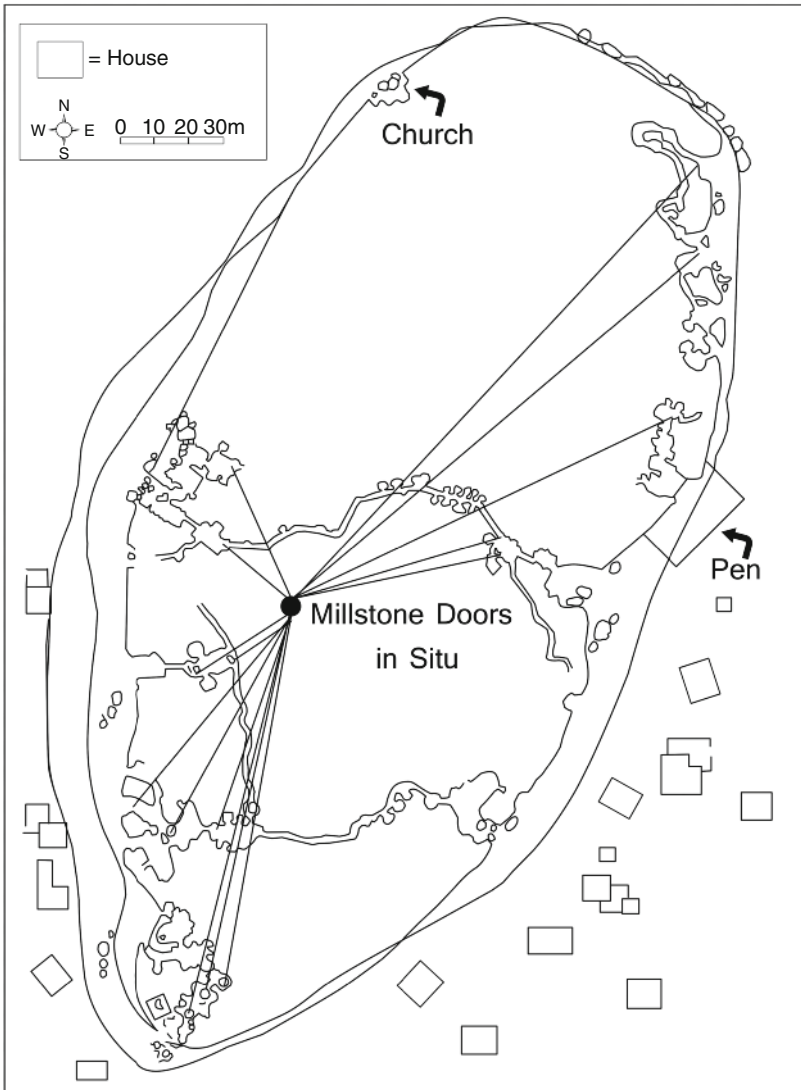


Figure 1.3 Ovaören

of refuge. Ovaören again provides an excellent example, where each unity has rock rings and niches carved in the walls and sometimes floors, indicating the additional function of stables, and the remains of pen enclosures survive at some entrances. These structures most

probably were utilised year-round. The shelter afforded from the harsh winter climate makes these rock-cut structures ideal for stabling domestic animals, while foodstuffs were protected well from the hot summer in the relatively constant temperature of underground storage areas. In times of crisis, household members quickly reached safety. Those animals that could not be harboured deeper in the redoubt system were left in the stables and pens. Despite substantial erosion, the extant curvature and lines of the stone of the facades suggest that the stables themselves were more defensible than they appear today.⁵⁸

Gökçetoprak (formerly Sivasa) has been classified by scholarship as an underground city, but is in fact another example of a redoubt settlement whose population capacity probably approached 300–400 at most and is where a village site once was.⁵⁹ It should be remembered that redoubt sites do not occur exclusively in conjunction with built settlements. A subterranean system in the rock-cut village of Akhisar may have been a refuge site. A redoubt near Tatların, one at Osiana, one near Kemer Kilise, and another at Karşıyaka show varying degrees of integration with built and rock-cut settlements. The site called Karşı Kilise should also be classified as a very simple redoubt, rather than a subterranean village as traditionally interpreted, and may well predate Roman times. The design of Karşı Kilise indicates that it could serve as short-term shelter or as a boltway from danger in the eastern or western portions of the settlement, was segmented with many millstone doors, and yet lacked features needed for prolonged occupation.⁶⁰

Occasionally, redoubt systems played a transitive or even formative role in the development of a settlement, such as the site of Filiktepe located about 40 km west of Nevşehir. The redoubt system lies at ground level, excavated into a butte. And similar to nearby Ovaören, the entire level reveals a system of defensive rock-cut networks, with the entrance areas used for storage and stabling animals. However, despite its defensive features and lack of any associated built settlement, Filiktepe was not simply a fortified refuge or temporary defensive shelter; the other rock-cut settlements in the vicinity have their own defensive arrangements. Rather, the redoubt at Filiktepe is unusual, in that it contains all of the basic features for permanent habitation such as stables, food stores, and a well. Seventh- or eighth-century churches are excavated in the same rock formation, one of which at least was integrated into the redoubt system, and assure a Byzantine date of habitation. What is more, there is an underlying multilevel complex, which, although poorly explored, apparently comprises sophisticated sublevels that are better excavated than the overlying redoubt system. Here, too,

storage facilities and a well were found, in an arrangement suggesting that occupation focussed in the sublevels. At present, the extent of the sublevels is unclear, but the concentrated location of the access shafts in the immediate vicinity of the redoubt suggests an area that does not spread much if at all beyond the overlying refuge system. It is worth noting, however, that the dimension of excavated space on the top level (that is, the redoubt) is substantial, with system F3 (see Figure 1.4) alone totalling over 400 m², though storerooms for foodstuffs and stables for livestock consume much of it.⁶¹

Based on the data available, we offer a tentative interpretation of the site. During the seventh or eighth century, Filiktepe began at surface level, excavated into the hill as something similar to a refuge or redoubt system. The chronological primacy of the upper level is suggested by the tight integration of the main access ways to the lower levels, all of which seem located within the redoubt system. The layout of the system suggests that major units were excavated individually and then joined by tunnels, for example system F3 to system F2 (see Figure 1.4). The eastern portion of the butte face is probably the earliest, but damage makes any firm chronological assessment difficult. The easternmost tunnel connecting this earliest phase to system F3 appears to have been excavated next, with F3 cut – or at least joined – before systems F2 and F1. The two dead-end spurs in the northern cuniculus were errant excavation that was corrected while joining system F3 to the other systems; such course corrections are not unique, especially when burrowing horizontally deep within the stone. Over time, the settlement grew and the inhabitants chose to dwell underground, resulting in a more extensive and better excavated subterranean system. The surface-level pens were retained, as were the storage facilities. More tunnels, however, were excavated to facilitate traffic along the uppermost level. When the lower levels were excavated cannot be stated at present. Yet the evident care given to the excavation suggests that insecurity was not a prime determinant. Rather, in light of the temperate qualities of underground living and the lack of otherwise readily available building material, the subterranean complex may have been excavated any time after *ca* the seventh century; more probably after the eighth. The choice to expand the settlement underground rather than construct a built one is not surprising, and may owe at least partially to the general lack of timber that vexed Cappadocia, and the shallowness of the water table that supplied two wells in the site.⁶²

Filiktepe also provides an illustration of the living conditions in a rock-cut settlement, be it village or town. Construction was laborious;

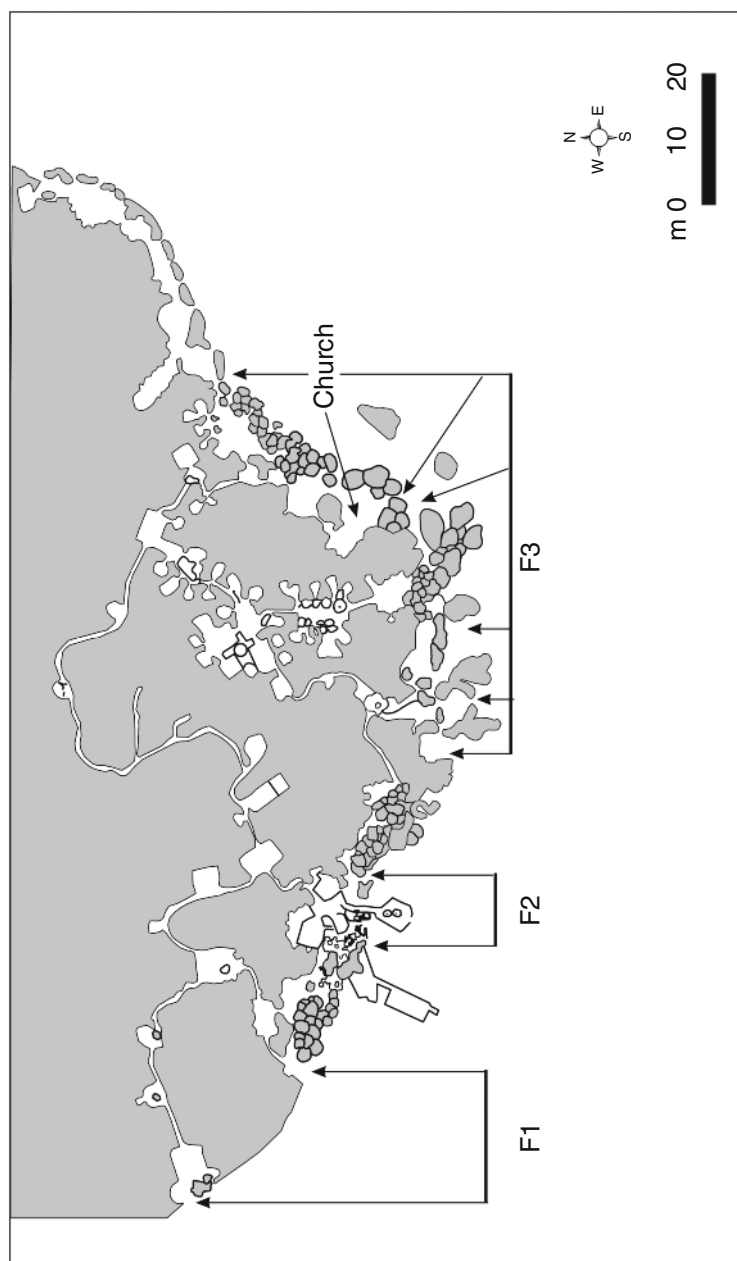


Figure 1.4 Filiktepe

system F3 entailed the mining of more than 800 m³ of rock, an undertaking that required about 500 man-days in this case, not including the (intensive) fashioning of the numerous, massive millstones used to seal-off rooms in the event of enemy attack. In terms of cost, however, subterranean dwellings required only one's manual input; there were no material costs beyond the picks, shovels, and baskets needed for excavation. As with built housing, humans and animals lived side by side. While in constructed dwellings, humans tended to live on the first floor while their livestock lived at ground level, this was often inverted in the case of underground dwellings. There, animals were stabled at ground level, or in the first level below ground, where their egress was easier and where better ventilation improved their health and helped remove some of the unpleasant smell. Stabling animals near the surface also meant that their waste was easier to haul away, and conversely, the large quantities of hay and other provender needed throughout the long winter was more easily put in to the level immediately below the surface.

Tunnels were sloped. Due to natural moisture advection, the denser, cooler air sank through the narrow passages and down to the lower levels. Lower levels offered ideal storage as well. In certain cases, we know that subterranean walls were whitewashed – fragments of this plastering can still be seen in some of the underground villages and towns today.⁶³ This would have absorbed some of the natural dampness caused by the significant amount of air aspirated by humans and animals.⁶⁴ In some cases, animals were stabled somewhat removed from the domestic space; this is the case at Filiktepe, where a number of animal enclosures front the facade of the rock-face.

Since seclusion and defensibility were valued more than access to natural light, most habitation was situated well behind the entrances and usually accessed by one or two tunnels. Family units lived in room clusters, usually around 'courtyards' where communal food preparation and domestic activities took place. These rooms are generally fairly small, typically measuring 3–5 m on a side. As in many preindustrial societies, space was at a premium: each room probably housed a family, generally four to six individuals. Adjoining rooms were shared by extended family members. These kin-based groupings shared the communal spaces of courtyard as well as hearths for cooking and heating. Some underground settlements, like Filiktepe, possessed wells, while other underground villages and some towns stored their drinking water in cisterns replenished by rain runoff, often captured through chutes (see Figure 1.5). Waste was collected in chamber pots and used in night-soiling the surrounding orchards and fields, a practice by no means unique to Cappadocia.⁶⁵

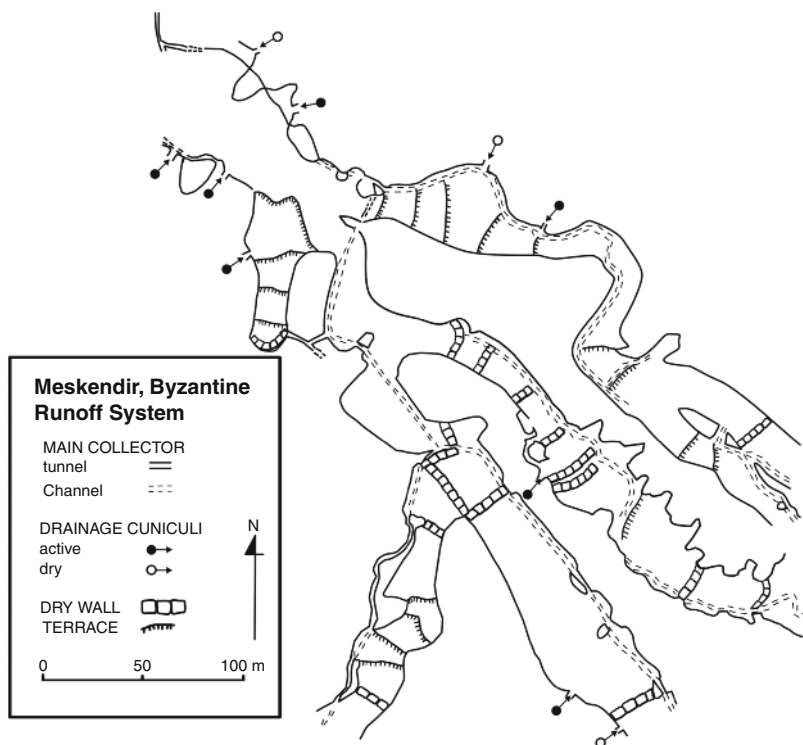


Figure 1.5 Byzantine runoff system

It is hazardous to envisage any one particular class favouring built versus subterranean dwellings; the existence of pretentious rock-cut palaces (see Chapter 6), elaborate troglodytic churches, and underground villages argue that they did not. One must remember that despite the rather grim environment with little exposure to natural light, cramped quarters, and general dankness, life underground was comparable to village life elsewhere in Cappadocia and the empire. Space was always quite limited, and people would have spent much time outside their homes, working among their fields and flocks. In the winter time, when the night was long and the days often cold and snowy, there was little cheer, save around the hearth, and these were as cosy under the earth as they were above it. In the end, the underground dwellings were less draughty, more secure, and far more stable in temperature throughout the year. Life was grim, no less above ground than below.

The variety of village types – for example built, cliff, subterranean, and cone – goes some way in explaining the resiliency of a region long caught in conflict, and swept into the maelstrom from the seventh to ninth centuries especially, as well as the apparently substantial regional population discussed below. The majority of inhabitants had always dwelt in villages rather than cities in Cappadocia and in many cases had adapted their habitat to provide protection against brigands, invaders, and other such ilk that lurked the land. The redoubt in particular afforded exposed built villages some protection and redoubts were likely utilised well before the advent of the Romans. Examples such as Filiktepe mentioned above, however, suggest that the turmoil of the Dark Ages resulted in more built villages creating redoubts, and of these some expanded and evolved for permanent underground dwelling. What is more, Ramsay declared that many settlements are found paired in close proximity throughout Anatolia as a response to the Arab invasions – a statement that has been largely unchallenged.⁶⁶ But for Cappadocia, it should be noted that redoubts frequently obviated the need for a second built village, and many of the rock-cut communities were inherently protected. Thus, it appears that permanently inhabited villages were more profuse than generally conceived.

Some corroboration might be read in the comments of contemporary historians. In the tenth century Leo the Deacon had little to say about the region except that Cappadocians lived in caves.⁶⁷ Leo's comment is the only surviving one, and probably as pejorative as it was indicative, from Byzantine sources, but Arab authors also mention cave settlements. The account of the ninth/tenth-century Muslim historian al-Tabari, describing the 838 campaign of the caliph al-Mu'tasim (833–42), reveals that the southern half of Rocky Cappadocia was known in Arabic as *Matamir* (underground stronghold(s)), while the ninth-century chronicler Ibn Khayyat reveals that as early as 649/50 the Muslims crossed through the Darb al-Hadat and raided as far as *Matamir*, whose people made a treaty with them.⁶⁸ The word *matamir* evokes the observed defensibility inherent in the settlements encountered, and suggests the difficulties in dealing with them. Mas'udi (d. 956), though, held a different notion and believed these caves were underground granaries like those familiar to the Arabs from North Africa; yet his comment accurately reflects the storage facilities mentioned above for every rock-cut habitation and the redoubts that accompanied many built villages.⁶⁹ However, it was the Arab geographer Ibn Hauqal who may have been most correct in stating that cities were few and the most notable features were the mountain fortresses and troglodyte villages. In view of the substantial

amount of unstudied remains near the aforementioned Byzantine settlements in the hotly contested frontier zone of the Bolkar Dağları, along with the continued extraction of vital metal resources during centuries of conflict, we may be confident that built villages often persisted as well as those rock-cut. It was the village that held Cappadocia together, just as it always had been.⁷⁰

Medieval immigration

While Hellenistic and Roman Cappadocia was peopled mostly by indigenous Anatolian ethnic groups who had Hellenised and adopted a distinctive Greek dialect, along with a smattering of outsiders (Greeks, Romans, Persians), the medieval era saw considerable external population influxes.⁷¹ There were substantial demographic alterations from the seventh century onwards. A large number of Arabs from the Ghassanid confederation settled in the heart of Cappadocia. In their heyday, the Ghassanids provided troops on behalf of their Roman masters, and their various allied tribes and civilian members were a numerous people.⁷² Not all of the Ghassanids left Syria, though large numbers of the Christian Arabs (called *musta'ribiyya*) probably settled in Cappadocia.

According to the ninth-century Muslim historian al-Baladhuri, Abu 'Ubaidah Ibn al-Jarrah led the first Muslim attack through the Amanus Mountains via al-Darb (probably Darb Baghras at the end of the Baylan Pass).⁷³ We can date this campaign to 637/8, when Abu 'Ubaidah was supreme commander of Arab forces in Syria. As the Muslims advanced, they encountered Byzantines and Christian Arabs from the tribes of Ghassan, Tanukh, and Iyad who had followed Herakleios out of Syria. In addition to those tribes, the settlers likely included minor elements of Lakhm, Kalb, and Judham.⁷⁴ The path of the emperor and his forces suggests a retreat via the Cilician Gates and, most probably, on to a Cappadocian settlement site. Supporting this reconstruction are Tabari (d. 923), the Chronicle of 813, and related Syriac sources which state that the emperor Nikephoros I was a descendent of the Ghassanids.⁷⁵ Additionally, the tenth-century Persian geographer al-Istakhri noted that in his day the dwellers of Charsianon claimed descent from the Ghassanids who had followed prince Jabala ibn al-Ayham there after Yarmuk (636).⁷⁶

In the eighth century, during the reign of Leo IV (775–80), the Byzantines managed a huge population transfer— up to 150,000 – from the anti-Chalcedonian Jacobites of Byzantine Syria, most of whom still probably spoke Greek or Syriac, though it was this generation that

produced the first Christian writer of Arabic – Theodore Abu Qurrah (d. 820–25).⁷⁷ Relocations of populations did not always go smoothly, however. There were large-scale Slavic settlements and subsequent desertions to the Arabs under Justinian II (685–95/705–11), and under Theophilus (829–42) a large number of Persian Khurramites settled in Cappadocia. According to Skylitzes, after the Khurramites joined imperial service, they revolted against the emperor and were subsequently dispersed throughout the themes, each of which received 2000 Persian military colonists. Some of these men subsequently returned to Persia.⁷⁸

A second group of Arab settlers probably entered Cappadocia in the 930s, when the Banu Habib entered imperial territory.⁷⁹ The entire host allegedly numbered 12,000 cavalry, plus their families and slaves; after they settled, all converted to Christianity. The Banu Habib attacked the frontier fortresses of Hisn Mansur and Hisn Ziyad (Kharput); tracing probable lines of march would agree with settlement somewhere in Cappadocia, but we cannot be certain. Likewise, Treadgold's assumption that they were placed specifically in the new themes of the east has no evidence for support.⁸⁰ The tenth century also witnessed considerable influxes of other groups, including another large settlement of Jacobites under Nikephoros II (963–9) – followed by many more over the next few decades in the east – and the active transplantation of thousands of Syrians into eastern Anatolia before the end of the century.⁸¹

Through the Dark Ages, the broad, wild frontier zone between Caesarea and Melitene became a no-man's land and the march of border lords and independent villagers. This is the land of the *akritai* and *ghazis* remembered in *Digenis Akritis*. Since antiquity the area contained a sizable Armenian population, and the Armenians immigrated in significant numbers throughout the Dark Ages and into the Middle Byzantine period, probably in part due to imperial policy. Though many of them were later captured and removed by the Muslims, Constantine V (741–75) moved thousands of Armenians to points along the eastern frontier. Others came independently, such as the sect of the Paulicians who established *de novo* the centre of Tephrike, about 240 km from Caesarea. These Armenian unorthodox Christians were suppressed and their territory conquered during the reign of Basil I (867–86), in which the renovation of the frontier began in earnest, often with the implantation of Armenian settlers. Around 908, Melias – himself an Armenian named Mleh – brought in Armenian settlers to Tzemandos, Lykandos, Symposion, and Larissa. Under Nikephoros II Phokas, Armenians settled in Sebasteia in large numbers. Their presence

seems to have persisted across the medieval period, but the community suffered periods of decline and recovery. Among the later arrivals were prominent Armenian princes accompanied by large followings; in the eleventh century the last king of Vaspurakan, King Senek'erim, led at least 14,000 of his followers when he settled in Cappadocia in the vicinity of Sebasteia, over which he lorded.⁸² Simeon the Pole recorded that out of the 2000 Armenian households that had existed within living memory, only 600 remained.⁸³ To a lesser extent, others from the Caucasus were also brought into Cappadocia, one of the most notable groups of which was that of the two Georgian brother-princes David *Magistros* and Bagrat, Duke of Dukes, who came with numerous followers around the early eleventh century; their exact place of settlement is uncertain, but may have been around the site of Selime Kalesi (see Chapter 6) in the Peristrema Valley.⁸⁴

These settlements remind us that, despite the current views that Byzantium lost much of its polyglot and religiously diverse complexion with the severing of the anti-Chalcedonian Syriac and Coptic populations, Cappadocia experienced the opposite. Probably the area had never witnessed such cultural and social changes as those wrought in the Byzantine period, and the settlement of Armenian Christians in particular would have ramifications that long outlasted the Byzantine state. Whether, as Vryonis noted, this immigration contributed to the conquest of Cappadocia by the Turks remains debatable, but it is certain that few other regions in the empire received such a sustained flow of outsiders during the Dark Ages and Middle Period, and their presence and influences remain to be fully understood.⁸⁵ In the near-term, from the perspective of the medieval Byzantine state, Jacobite Syrians, Armenian, and Georgian settlers offered attractive prospects, cultivating the land, engaging in trade, filling the ranks of the army and, most importantly, paying taxes. The response to these pragmatic concerns reinforce our picture of Byzantine *realpolitik* and adaptability in the face of material realities, as well as a fundamental confidence in the attractiveness, superiority, and long-term prospects of Byzantine society in Asia Minor.

Population: how many people?

Written sources may refer to settlement, but the lack of specifics and the piecemeal state of the physical data prevent any firm understanding of how these sites evolved or what their populations might have been except in the most general of terms. Hundreds of settlements are known from either textual references or archaeological work, but these vary

in size over time and space. There were few cities, and only slightly more towns are known. Villages, however, dominated the settled landscape. Although some 20 subterranean villages can be identified, their total remains unknown. The extraordinary number of known but otherwise unexplored subterranean sites in Cappadocia gives reason to believe that underground villages were also common. Built and rock-cut structures could co-exist, and indeed be integrated, within a village setting. The sprawling village of Akhisar, for example, comprised numerous rock-cut complexes, and at least one built church.⁸⁶ Indeed, many of the built churches in general have rock-cut structures in the environs, suggesting mixed settlements. And rock-cut villages often were hybrids, such as the cliff system above and around the cone system at Soğanlı Dere. Their diversity that defies our attempt to neatly categorise settlements is obvious, but the salient point remains: the ubiquity of Byzantine Cappadocian villages. Yet, as our data remain imprecise and limited, we have no full settlement hierarchy, nor a full picture of settlement numbers, and dating remains a problem.⁸⁷

The majority of villages mentioned are identified as Byzantine by the presence of a church, the most obvious archaeological indication. But potential settlement numbers would be vastly underestimated if one extrapolated from numbers of published churches alone: of the estimated 3000 Byzantine churches in Cappadocia, only some 800 have been published; From 1998–2007 this was clearly revealed by our studies in Rocky Cappadocia from Kızıl Çukur to Çavuşin, the Peristrema Valley, around Ortahisar, Avcılar and from Ürgüp to Soğanlı Dere where we found numerous unreported Byzantine rock-cut villages lying in proximity to the published churches and even more unstudied religious sanctuaries. Another fault in the data is scholars' propensity to link churches with nearby modern settlements, not with the extinct habitations to which the sanctuaries belonged, and thereby overlook Byzantine dwelling places.⁸⁸ It is also difficult to determine any sort of carrying capacity in terms of church size, nor know precisely when churches were in use. Finally, churches may be clustered disproportionately as at Göreme, rather than distributed evenly throughout settlements. Given these considerations, it is not possible to create any reliable statistical settlement model based on church remains.

The settlement data in their present form are problematic: the written sources are biased in favour of the built settlements outside of Rocky Cappadocia. Conversely, the material data are biased in favour of underground centres: due either to obliteration at the hands of successive generations of inhabitants or because of the unforgiving

local environment, built settlements are almost non-existent in the archaeological record. It is therefore impossible to offer more than a crude estimate of the population of Byzantine Cappadocia. Our figures indicate that a settlement density of middle Byzantine Rocky Cappadocia was about one settlement per 2.5 km². The habitation sites were most commonly cliff and cone villages, which varied in estimated populations from a dozen to hundreds of people; the most common capacity appears to be *ca* 60–120 people. These are preliminary results that require better and more thorough study. For those who have spent considerable time exploring Rocky Cappadocia, such a proposed settlement density is probably not at all surprising. It seems that wherever one ventures in the area, there are small rock-cut villages to be found, the relics of ancient agriculture, and numerous unrecorded churches. Outside of Rocky Cappadocia, we have much less archaeological evidence – if we simply distribute the more than 700 Byzantine-era sites recorded throughout the remainder of the region, we can surmise one settlement per 49 km².⁸⁹ This can be improved through a study that incorporates an understanding of the essentially durable character of settlement in Cappadocia, which for reasons of access to water and food supplies tended to be fairly static; a fact underscored by Ottoman toponyms – many of which remain in use – that denote numerous sites previously occupied by Byzantines. No thorough catalogue of such settlements exists, but a preliminary effort to clarify the number of Ottoman toponyms designating former Byzantine sites suggests that this is a fruitful approach for future study. Using this combined data, the settlement density of the region, outside of Rocky Cappadocia, is approximately one settlement per 33 km².⁹⁰

Looking after Byzantium affords some scope for comparison. Demographic analysis and archival records suggest about 780,000 rural inhabitants and a total population of *ca* 1.2 million people including major urban centres for nineteenth-century Ottoman Cappadocia.⁹¹ These numbers are very similar to a census conducted in 1922 that tallied approximately 800,000 rural inhabitants and nearly 1.4 million people including major centres in Cappadocia.⁹² Both the Ottoman and 1922 census data are known to under-represent the total respective rural Cappadocian population figures by several percent (exact deviations unspecified). These rural population numbers also closely approximate the demographic data for 1995 of *ca* 1 million rural inhabitants.⁹³ The total number of settlements within Cappadocia in 1995 was about 1200, which approximately equals one settlement per 33 km². In such a rural environment about 90 per cent of people lived in villages, hamlets,

and other rural dwellings. Only 10 per cent lived in cities. Under such a regime, Caesarea would have had a sixth-century population of around 50,000: a number that would have made it a rather average-sized provincial capital. Its sister cities of Sebasteia and Melitene probably had around 25,000 denizens, and Tyana no more than 10,000. Combined, the urban population of the region barely exceeded 100,000 but their hinterlands hosted nine times this number.

The foregoing discussion should go some way to remedying the view too often assumed of Byzantine Anatolia, that it was a sparsely inhabited and somewhat desolate place (see Chapter 2). In Cappadocia, to equate the rural nature of settlement with an empty landscape is clearly erroneous, as hundreds of troglodytic settlements prove. The consistent occupation of settlement sites from the Byzantine era through the Ottoman period and the rather consistent rural population of Cappadocia from Ottoman times to the late twentieth-century noted above suggest that Byzantine Cappadocia was populated similarly. Indeed, the comparable numbers suggest that pre-industrial Cappadocia had a natural capacity of *ca* one million inhabitants, for the general methods of food production were essentially the same from the Byzantine era through the early twentieth century, and still many portions of the region as late as 1995. We therefore accept a working number of about one million people as the approximate population of Middle Byzantine Cappadocia (ninth to eleventh centuries), up from perhaps 900,000 in Late Antiquity (fourth to sixth centuries), a number that probably fell by another 10 per cent during the Dark Ages. The Dark Age decline of population in Cappadocia was in all likelihood far less catastrophic than that which afflicted the urbanised portions of the empire.⁹⁴ In the highlands the settlements were self-sufficient and scattered, both natural advantages against an enemy drawn to the lucrative plunder of cities with their excess wealth. That most Cappadocians lived in close proximity to places of refuge on high ground or under it was a further peculiar benefit. This point is well illustrated by the Sasanian Persian invasions of 576 against Melitene, which Kosrow I (531–79) burnt after he found it abandoned.⁹⁵ During the occupation of Caesarea 611/12, the inhabitants fled, most eluding death or capture, and Christians departed the city under terms. This lack of violent destruction is apparent in the normal functioning of the city when the emperor Herakleios (610–41) made it his headquarters a decade later.⁹⁶ In addition, as mentioned above, Cappadocia received many immigrants and refugees that likely repopulated particularly desolated areas. When the Dark

Ages descended with the rush of *jihad*, Cappadocia had finally come into its own. Its height, inaccessible corners, scatter of rural villages, and vastness sheltered its people. The huge flocks and herds that grazed there were mobile wealth that could be moved to elude the enemy, and its elites were long conditioned to harsh competition and violence. One could almost say that while the Dark Ages surprised Byzantium, Cappadocia had been awaiting their arrival.⁹⁷

2

The Increase of the Earth

No sailor plies the sea for the sailing and no farmer farms for the sake of it, but it is obvious that both persist through their hardships that they may secure, the one the harvest of the earth, and the other the wealth of maritime trade. But tell me now, covetous man, what is your goal? To accumulate? What kind of an object in life is this, to heap up and gloat over useless substance? The very sight of them, he replies, delights me.

Asterios of Amaseia, *On Covetousness*¹

The vast and admirable land of Cappadocia described by Justinian in *Novel 30* supported several large cities and hundreds of villages. As with all preindustrial economies without the benefit of mechanised transport to easily ship bulk goods from one place to another, nor refrigerated storage that has made subsistence on imported food commonplace, Cappadocians made a living from their own soil, using age-old techniques with their own peculiar adaptations and advances. The crops and flocks that provided food and the basic necessities of life for all, and for some the basis of mobile wealth convertible to cash or land, depended on myriad factors in any given year. The changeable and sometimes harsh Cappadocian climate, plant and animal disease, and foreign invasions by humans or other animals rendered life precarious, often miserable, and usually brief. Despite this, like many other ancient and medieval societies, Cappadocians were, in certain times and places, able to generate surpluses of food, wool, and other agricultural commodities. In some cases, the denizens of the region engaged in cloth making and weapons manufacturing. They further exploited the

mineral riches their land possessed to provide vital iron and other useful metals to themselves and the empire.

Yet most scholars fallaciously doubt the productive capacity of the Anatolian landscape and the possibility of the region to support a large, varied population whose citizens pursued livelihoods outside of subsistence farming. One of them went so far as to suggest that the people of Byzantine Anatolia did not understand dry-farming methods that were already ancient by the time the imperial capital was established in Constantinople.² A close examination of the textual and material sources for late antique and Byzantine Cappadocia reveals a landscape, while not the richest in the empire, that offered surprising productivity. The savviness and experience of the inhabitants in animal breeding and mining rendered even the non-arable landscape valuable and viable, as evidenced by the famous stock produced there and the wide range of mineral and manufactured exports.

No surviving texts describe in detail life in the fields, shops, or mines of the region. Some facts may be gleaned from the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers, and much is to be gained from the archaeological remains, but in the end any rendering of the past landscape of Cappadocia depends on comparative and interdisciplinary work that future efforts will clarify and enhance. What is clear from the available data, however, is that the highlands supported a sizable human and animal population, had extensive areas under cultivation, and possessed substantial areas where intensive agriculture was often practiced.

Land tenure

One reality that had a tremendous effect on Cappadocian life and the exploitation of the soil was that the emperor owned much of the land there. This prominence of imperial holdings no doubt affected many areas of Cappadocian life and made the region unique among the eastern lands of the empire.³ Imperial estates (*saltus, regio*) of the *res privata*, overseen by the praetorian prefect via the *comes rerum privatarum* by Late Antiquity, were divided into two classes. The first of these, the *patrimonium*, comprised lands supporting various state needs. The second, the *domus divina*, or Divine House, belonged to the emperor and his household. Sizable Cappadocian lands belonged to the Divine House; according to the fifth-century *Notitia Dignitatum*, the *domus divinae per Cappadociam* was overseen by the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* of *illustris* rank, the highest honorific in the empire at the time.⁴ In *Novel* 30.6, Justinian noted that the empress Theodora required 50 lb of gold

from the proconsul of Cappadocia, presumably drawn from estates in the region assigned for her support. Given the range of abuses and the problems that the emperor was attempting to correct by issuing his novel, the empress was probably not receiving her required sum.

Though the precise extent of crown land in Cappadocia is impossible to determine, by the sixth century these territories included former temple estates, whose confiscation into the *res privata* had begun under Constantine and was completed sometime during the reign of Theodosios I. Of the great temple estates in Cappadocia, Strabo discusses two of the largest. The first of these, of Zeus Daciëus at Venasa (Avanos), owned 3000 slaves and produced an annual income of 15 talents, the latter equivalent of about 119 lb of gold (8571 *nomismata*).⁵ The temple of Ma at Cappadocian Komana, one of the most famous shrines in Anatolia, possessed 6000 slaves.⁶ If the number of slaves is any indication, Komana's temple lands were perhaps twice as extensive and produced over 200 lb of gold. Along with the temple lands, imperial holdings in Cappadocia included the old royal lands of the Hellenistic kings of Cappadocia that had been confiscated to the imperial fisc. If these were on the order of the temple holdings, the 13 imperial estates in Cappadocia may have provided the state with 1500 lb of gold or more annually.

Where were these lands? Justinian appointed 13 magisters, one for each imperial estate centre, or *domus* (Gr. *oikos* pl. *oikiai, oikoi*). In Cappadocia Secunda, Hierokles lists as *regiones* Mokissos and Doara, the latter of which lay on the road about 42 km southeast of Koloneia on the route to Tyana.⁷ Certainly another famous confiscation, the Villa Palmati at Andabalis near Tyana, was an imperial domain. In the fourth through sixth century, Andabalis may have lay in Cappadocia Prima. The estate was renowned for the quality of its horses that it provided for the emperor and the imperial post. In 396/7 (*CTh* 10.6.1) Arkadios ordered that 1 lb of gold would be demanded for each horse or mare taken from this farm and six ounces per animal removed from other lands. Also near Tyana was the famous temple of Zeus Asbamaios (three km south of the city at Asbamaion; today Hortasan Gölü) that likely had extensive properties that also would have come into possession of the emperor following the Christianisation of the court. Further to the south near the Cilician Gates was Aquae Calidae, a hot springs that tradition links to a visit of St Helena, and these characteristics also indicate a landscape under imperial ownership. These few examples show that the range and probable extent of the imperial holdings in Cappadocia were considerable, and that during Late Antiquity, the state was the largest single landholder in both provinces.

Though the evidence just discussed undermines Jones' view that all imperial lands lay in Prima, the lack of cities in that province does favour the presence of large tracts of imperial *salti*. One of the most famous crown lands in Cappadocia Prima was near Caesarea on Mt Argaios at Makelle (Macelli fundus), the gilded cage to which were confined Julian and Gallus in the mid-fourth century. Makelle comprised a palace, lush gardens, baths, perennial springs, and hunting grounds.⁸ No doubt this was old territory confiscated by the emperor when Tiberius annexed the land in AD 17 and probably one of the hunting estates that late antique emperors visited on their sojourns in the region.

The extent of the domination of estates and the rural character of the land is further underscored by the fact that only three bishops from Cappadocia Prima (Caesarea, Basilika Therma and Nyssa) attended Chalcedon. Of these, both Basilika Therma and Nyssa seem to have been cities only in an ecclesiastical sense at this time and did not have a secular administrative role – a not uncommon situation that Zeno addressed but did not correct.⁹ Podandos apparently remained an imperial *regio* in the sixth century when Hierokles wrote, and there are several other candidates (as Jones saw) among the bishoprics that appear in *Notitia* 1 which were thus elevated to this status before the seventh century, probably by Justinian. It may therefore be true that the lion's share of Cappadocia Prima outside of Caesarea belonged to the emperor, though he had competition from a number of large estates that appear in the late antique sources.¹⁰

Already in 379, Theodosios (*CTh* 6.30.2) ordered that sufficiently high-ranking and impressive men be sent to Cappadocia so that even the *comes domorum per Cappadociam* would fear him should the latter do wrong. This could be interpreted in a number of ways, but given the fractiousness depicted in later legislation (described below) it seems likely the region was prone to misrule and lawlessness throughout Late Antiquity. In the fourth-sixth centuries, most of the imperial lands were held by lessees, either in perpetuity or in long-term (*emphyteusis*), which eased their administration but also opened the door to corruption and private encroachment.¹¹ *Novel* 30 noted that large tracts of imperial lands were under threat and had been absorbed into the estates of powerful Cappadocians, an abuse that Justinian ordered his officials to stop. The theft of imperial lands, like the curule horses mentioned in the Theodosian Code, will be discussed further in Chapter 7, and it suffices here to say that imperial lands and other assets increasingly fell into private hands throughout Late Antiquity. By the Middle Byzantine period, it was private small landowners and those of the emperor whose

holdings were apparently nearly wiped out – though whether through distributions to soldiers, appropriation by the locals, or some other means of alienation is not clear.

The medieval period of Byzantine history is the era of the great Anatolian landlord; some of the best-known were Cappadocians. From neighbouring Phrygia comes the comparable, well-known case of the eighth-century St Philaretos the Merciful. Philaretos' pasturelands comprised 60,000 *modioi* of pasturage and another 5900 or so *modioi* of arable, lands worth 300–450 lb of gold. Although the work is in part a retelling of the story of Job, the orders of magnitude expressed in the text must have been believable to a contemporary audience and provide an order of magnitude of large, Dark Age holdings.¹² Philaretos' holdings, with their 600 cattle, 100 yoke of oxen, 12,000 sheep, 80 riding mules and horses, and 800 mares had a wealth profile much as we would expect from a Cappadocian provincial elite.¹³ A crude value of his animals alone was 16,600 *nomismata* or more (about 230 lb of gold). Assuming 10 per cent culling of animals for sale, Philaretos' income would have been on the order of 20 lb of gold annually from his animals and 2–3 lb of gold from his arable holdings. Despite the vast extent of his 48 estates, which in aggregate covered more than 70 km², Philaretos' holdings would have made him a minor neighbour to the greatest landed families of Middle Byzantine Cappadocia, the Maleinoi and the Phokades.¹⁴ Rather than viewing these great estates as something largely new, we should rather recall that Anatolia was, in general, less-urbanised, less-Hellenised, and more frequently home to such massive estates. The growth and continued consolidation of estates extended, rather than departed, from the pattern of antiquity and Late Antiquity.

The poster-children for the tendency towards unbridled ingathering of landed wealth is certainly the Maleinoi family, whose estates in western Asia Minor from the headwaters of the Sangarios River stretched over 115 km.¹⁵ In addition to their lands in the Boukellarion theme, the Maleinoi had extensive holdings in Charsianon that were probably of a comparable size. Eustathios Maleinos entertained Basil II on one of the emperor's eastern campaigns, and his estates were able to provide victuals for the entire eastern field army.¹⁶ The extent of such holdings was no doubt on par with the great senatorial families of the late Roman West, where the far-flung *latifundia* of the most privileged class yielded 4000 lb of gold a year.¹⁷ Comparable holdings in Byzantium, like those of the Maleinoi, would have comprised parcels totalling 5000 km² scattered over thousands of square kilometres throughout multiple themes. In the Middle Byzantine period, Cappadocia was clearly dominated

by magnate families of this order, who must have been the majority property holders in the region. Families like the Maleinoi, Phokades, Argyroi, Diogenes, and Melissenoi held sway over entire districts.

Another register of landowners were men of economic status like Eustathios Boilas, whose assets made him rich by the standards of the day but far below the highest echelon of wealth and influence. Boilas' possessions and affluence are discussed more in Chapter 6, but a few points warrant mention here. Despite owning various properties and considerable portable wealth, including fine clothing and a rich library, Boilas' possessions were of a different order of magnitude entirely from the greatest families of the East. From what we can discern in his will, Boilas had 11 estates scattered throughout the hinterland of Edessa. He described his properties as *monidian*, which Hendy interprets to denote individual parcels or the tax status of *idiosystata* (bounded taxable units removed from the normal fiscal assessment), but equally may have referred to their modest sizes and rents, for example one property provided 80 *solidi* per year.¹⁸ Boilas moved to Edessa after being forced from his ancestral holdings in Cappadocia, but the impression given by his will is that his landed properties were always confined to a single region – first in Cappadocia, and once ousted from his homeland, in Edessa. It is clear that Boilas never truly wanted, and his holdings provided a handsome living, but in the wider sea of the powerful aristocratic families, Eustathios Boilas swam with the small fishes.

At the lowest end of the land-holding food chain were the independent and dependent farmers. The former were probably never as common in Cappadocia as elsewhere due to the pattern of land-holding, since the emperor or elites had accumulated most of the property. Dependent farmers were ubiquitous, as tenants of the great estate holders, the emperor or both. Cappadocia may have been more akin to Egypt, where many poorer citizens owned land, but the size of their holdings tended to be far too small to support them.¹⁹ Thus, most would have made their primary living as labourers on the estates of the wealthy, or in another occupation. There were, however, independent small farmers in Late Antiquity, such as the family of Eunomios, whose father worked a small private farm (*gedion*) and supplemented his farming income by making wooden alphabets during the winter months. The holdings of the smaller order farmers would have likely comprised 30–70 *modioi*.²⁰ Some of these more modest farmers probably remained when Justinian's ministers penned *Novel 30*, which, in addition to the *conductores* of the wealthy, mentions simply the *agricolae*, and the *coloni* on the imperial lands.²¹

The seventh and eighth centuries were probably unkind to the free small-farmers, as the chaos of first the Persian and then the Arab invasions further slackened government control in an already chaotic landscape troubled by thuggery and lawlessness. Chapter 7 discusses the broader transformation of the region, but if it is true that the military survival of the empire rested on the shoulders of its peasants, the medieval state must have intervened with greater vigour than its late antique predecessor in order to curb the encroachment of the elite. The views of scholars regarding issues of settlement of soldiers, military recruitment and their connections with imperial lands have been summarised and elaborated upon by Haldon, and need not be repeated here.²² In the context of a discussion of land tenure, it suffices to say that there were various levels of landholding among soldiers, as among the civilian population, and that the minimum value of the holding of a tenth-century soldier, about four lb of gold, did not differ substantially from those of other free small-farmers, but the survival and prosperity of small farmers beyond Late Antiquity is in doubt.

Arable farming

Many of the agricultural traditions and practices of the Byzantine world have been dealt with extensively elsewhere, so a full overview is not required here.²³ A few points about agrarian practices in Cappadocia deserve special emphases, however, partly because of the backwards image of the area prevailing among scholars. Van Dam noted that the region was 'impoverished and underdeveloped'.²⁴ Henty's unfortunate reliance on Crusader sources that emphasise the difficulty of their journeys – which became all the more penitent and honourable for their suffering – led him to emphasise their view of the plateau as one vast desert.²⁵ Bryer stated that the Byzantines did not know techniques of dry farming, in which tillage, timing of planting, and fallowing are carefully managed to preserve precious moisture and to safeguard against crop failure in low-moisture environments.²⁶ Books 2 and 3 of the compilation of late antique farming manuals that constitute the bulk of the medieval agronomic handbook called the *Geoponika*, collected during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (908–59), describe dry-farming methods in many instances, and the presence of wide bands of cereal land in the centre of Anatolia is a strong argument that such methods were necessarily employed.²⁷

As Chapter 3 notes, animal husbandry was vital to Cappadocian life and identity. But herding, though key to the Cappadocian economic,

social, and cultural fabric should not mislead us to believe that the region was only a pastoral landscape. This assumption, based on the rural character of its settlement as well as its portrayal as the final appendage of the great Eurasian steppe, is wrong for the late antique and Byzantine periods. The late medieval and early modern travellers' accounts that depict a landscape following the arrival of the rapacious Turkomens and Mongols should not be inserted into the preceding eras. Instead, in the settlement regime that characterised nearly nine centuries of Byzantine occupation, livestock were most often integrated into arable farming patterns rather than competitors with it. Oxen ploughed the arable lands and herds of horses and cattle grazed on fallow fields during the dormant period of the cereal rotation, or ranged over the expanses of stubble following the harvest when the meadow grasses had largely dried up. This incorporation of stocking into the arable landscape was far older than Late Antiquity and was common throughout late antique and medieval eastern landscapes. Given the importance of cereal culture in Anatolia, the management of corn lands in this way was normal.²⁸

Wheat and barley were two staple cereals in Cappadocia. Said Bishop Basil, as he upbraided the wealthy men in his congregation in fourth-century Caesarea, 'for you wheat becomes gold, wine is translated into gold, and wool transformed into gold – trade is everything; all of your acumen produces gold'.²⁹ The same two grains were undoubtedly ubiquitous throughout Anatolia – a situation unlikely to have changed during the Byzantine era. Wheat was preferred because it was more palatable than barley – its high gluten content and other properties meant that it yielded a far superior loaf of bread than its competitors. Several species of wheat are both drought- and cold-tolerant, including two ancient varieties common throughout the ancient world. Bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) and durum wheat (*Triticum durum* – today called macaroni wheat, as it is the main ingredient in pasta) were common throughout the Roman world and continued in cultivation throughout the medieval period. Cappadocia, like its regional peers, would have grown both of these common varieties and countless local variants of these and others. Indeed, both are attested in the archaeobotanical finds in the Middle Byzantine era levels at Çadır Höyük, where cereals may have been grown under the intensive irrigation that we propose for significant portions of late antique and middle Byzantine Cappadocian agriculture.³⁰ Under conditions common in the high plains and mountain valleys that typify Cappadocia, wheat did not need irrigation.³¹ The regimen would have resembled the cultivation of the crop in

Turkey today, or in other semi-arid, upland regions, such as the Deccan Plateau in India and the American high plains, where hot summers contrast with cool or cold winters. Wheat planted in the autumn grows to the tillering stage and then goes dormant due to the cold, snowy Cappadocian winters. In the spring, the crop leaves and flowers. In Cappadocia, as elsewhere in the cooler climes of the plateau, the edible seeds of mature winter (bread) wheat were harvest-ready in June or July. Durum wheat, by contrast, would have been a spring-sown crop, established around March or April and ready for harvest in July or August. The cultivation of spring varieties of durum was common during the Roman era, and commented upon by the follower of Galen, Oribasios (fourth century).³² Durum wheat is drought-tolerant and maintains its quality well in storage, both characteristics that helped it to persist in the medieval Anatolian diet. Since wheat consumption was a hallmark of Roman culture, its widespread consumption in Cappadocia further underscores the similarity of the region with other provinces. But Cappadocia also shared in the binary dietary expression of wealth common throughout the empire: wheat was generally reserved for the consumption of the better-off segments of society, barley for the poor.

Neighbouring Galatia produced a famous species of barley that almost certainly flourished in Cappadocia. Throughout the Byzantine era, barley was eaten by the poor, since it produced coarser, less appealing bread than wheat. Barley is also much less nutritive than wheat; durum wheat has more than three times the calories and iron, for example, of an equal portion of barley. Yet barley has several advantages over most varieties of wheat, including a better ability to tolerate semi-arid and other marginal environments. It is well adapted to high altitudes and matures more quickly than most other cereals – in situations like Cappadocia where young plants may have been grazed by horses and other livestock, such attributes were critical. By the Roman period, a Cappadocian variety also became famous throughout the empire, because of its hullless characteristic that made it much easier to process than most other types of barley (which were hulled).³³ Additionally, barley tolerates saline soils and flourished in the short, cooler growing seasons typical of Anatolia. Barley gruel (*chondros*) was a common food among peasants and the urban poor through the ancient and medieval worlds. Moreover, barley was a valuable animal feed, a fact that reinforced and emphasised the social standing that came with the wheat-based diet enjoyed by elite families. Its adaptability and use by the poor as well as its prominence as horse and ox fodder meant that barley was probably grown on more acreage than wheat in Cappadocia. However, until palaeobotanical

data are brought to light, the exact relationship among cereals in the diet and farming regime of ancient and medieval Cappadocia will remain speculative and limited to generalisations.

In addition to wheat and barley, we do know that oats was a major cereal in Cappadocia. In the *Hexaemeron*, Basil contrasts the stoutness of the crown of wheat with the frailty of the top of oats (*bromos*).³⁴ Oats, native to the Middle East, is seldom mentioned in Greco-Roman sources, and its appearance in Basil's writings is thus intriguing. In western medieval Europe, as in much of the modern west, oats was considered a premium fodder for horses. Due to the high bulk of the grain, it was difficult for equids, with their particularly sensitive digestive system, to gorge themselves (and subsequently colic) on oats, and its relatively high protein meant that it could keep the steeds in muscle even when they were working hard. Given the central role of the horse in ancient and medieval Cappadocian society, farmers there had probably observed these qualities and therefore cultivated oats widely. Certainly Basil, whose sermons and correspondence is replete with rural allusions, expected his audience to be acquainted with the crop.³⁵

While Basil noted that his audience turned their wheat, wine, and wool into gold in Rumpelstilzchenian fashion, his is an odd triad of staples. The traditional 'Mediterranean triad' of grain, wine, and olive oil is well known, but the olive typically could not grow at over 1000 m of elevation, which made it a stranger to the Anatolian plateau. In Strabo's day (12.2.1) the olive could be found only around Melitene. The wine grape (*Vitis vinifera*) probably originated in the nearby Caucasus and was adaptable to the region; by Hittite times viticulture was certainly established in the Anatolian highlands.³⁶ Scholars have taken their cue from Strabo, who omits any mention of wine production outside of Melitene, but his silence is no evidence of absence. The sixth-century Cappadocians that came to Upper Mesopotamia seeking wine because their land had none were perhaps experiencing a temporary shortage, since the land did (and does) produce a considerable quantity of grapes. In addition to Strabo's noting of the wine of Melitene, which he calls the Monarites (12.2.1) and compares favourably with Greek vintages, and the testimony of the Cappadocian Fathers, there is material evidence for the persistence of wine production through the Byzantine and into the modern periods. Basil also described the grape vine climbing to the tops of trees, invaluable testimony to the intercultivation of vines among fruit trees, which supported the grapes as living props in what the Romans called *arbustum*.³⁷ This practice is a hallmark of ancient and medieval intensive farming regimes. To wit, rock-cut winepresses

of probable Byzantine date are known at Soğanlı Dere, Erdemli, and Ürgüp. In all likelihood, the vintages of Cappadocia were, while of good quality, never produced in sufficient quantities to be exported. But there would have been little need of finding an export market in any period, since the demand for wine was ubiquitous and persistent, whether it was used in churches for the eucharist, as soured wine at the table of peasants, or at the banquet table of the powerful.

Other crops: trees, fibre, and botanicals

Wine grapes, like many other fruits grown in the challenging environment of Cappadocia, needed assiduous care. Orchards also needed special attention, such as pruning, grafting, and sometimes irrigation. Strabo describes Melitene as a veritable carpet of fruit trees, and while he wrote much earlier than our period of interest, the area remained renowned for its fecundity throughout the period of Muslim domination.³⁸ The *Geoponika* discusses a wide array of tree crops commonly grown throughout Byzantium. Many fruits familiar today are sufficiently tolerant of the cool environment of Anatolia to grow there, among these apple, apricot, pear, peach, cherry, and quince. To these should be added a local tree crop of some notoriety, the jujube (*Ziziphus zizyphus* L.), which, due to its ubiquity, Pliny (*N.H.*21.27) said was called the 'tree of Cappadocia.'

Other trees were certainly of economic importance in building and crafts. In well-watered regions like the banks of the Halys or the stream-sides of Rocky Cappadocia in places like Soğanlı, willows grew wild and were harvested along with other uncultivated plants. But these non-fruiting trees were also typically managed by estate-owners and villagers who wished to ensure a certain supply of valuable osiers for wicker work. The same was true of pines and other fast-growing species, such as poplar, which had numerous uses on the farm.³⁹ Given the general scarcity of wood in Cappadocia, the 300 timber beams promised to a friend by Gregory of Nyssa from a presbyters' stock at Osiena (today Eskişehir) probably came from managed plantations that were common components of large estates.⁴⁰

Cultivated along the marginal boundaries of irrigated land were the thorny plants used to make rope and rough cloth.⁴¹ In areas more fertile, various cultivars of flax almost certainly were grown.⁴² Although little-used today, linen from flax fibre has several advantages over cotton cloth, as it readily absorbs moisture, dries easily, and is extremely resilient. The role of materials like linen was greater than might be supposed. Certainly, farmers and others needed the products

of fibre crops, and much of the trade in these stuffs was likely local. Linseed oil has been used for millennia to protect the coats of herd animals from sun and dirt irritation; it also was used in certain paints for wall decoration.⁴³ Furthermore, the fibres of flax were used for clothing and textiles.⁴⁴ Transport required these plant materials too, as is evident from burlap-like impressions, likely left from transport bags, found particularly on *kommerkiarioi* seals.⁴⁵ Ethno-archaeological study offers further corroboration on the cultivation and use of these plants.⁴⁶ These plants had a substantial role in the local economy, either as components of local cloth manufacture, or in support of other complementary pursuits, such as rope-making. The production and trade of cloth, leather goods, and rope is analogous with the frontier region of late-antique Syria.⁴⁷

Plants used in medicine included a local variety of rue that gained some notoriety – Dioskorides (3.46), repeated in Oribasios (12.16.8), noted that the locals called it *moly*, a plant with a black root and white flower that grew in fertile areas.⁴⁸ Southernwood (*Artemisia abrotanon* L.), a shrubby plant used in antiquity as an analgesic and an anti-venin, was produced widely. The physicians also mention ambrose, a kind of ragweed that was woven into garlands (*N.H.* 27.11) in Cappadocia and used medicinally for its binding properties (*Diosk.* III.114). Dioskorides noted that Dyer's buckthorn (*Rhamnus tinctoria*) grew throughout Cappadocia and was used medicinally to treat eye ailments as well as itches and other minor complaints.⁴⁹ The Cappadocian countryside also furnished Oak of Jerusalem (*Chenopodium botrys* L.), used to treat orthopnea (*Diosk.* III.115), and Jacob's ladder (*Polemonium caeruleum* L.), used in antiquity to treat dysentery, hip diseases, and also deemed efficacious against scorpion bites (*Diosk.* IV.8).⁵⁰ A low-growing acacia tree produced seed pods used to treat various ailments (*Diosk.* I.101.IV). *Lepidium draba* L., or Arabian mustard, was prepared with husked barley and used as a seasoning replacement for pepper (*Diosk.* II.157). Liquorice (*Glycyrrhiza glabra* L.), plentiful in the countryside in Pontos and Cappadocia, was used widely to treat an array of ailments (*Diosk.* III.5). The best Cappadocian wormwood (*Artemisia absinthium* L.) was employed widely as a medicament, made into wine, and used to fatten sheep (*Diosk.* III.23). Physicians administered another common local medicinal plant, Lesser Dodder (*Cuscuta epythumum* L.), to reduce phlegm and flatulence. In addition, there were hundreds of other edible plants collected throughout the region for local consumption, and some of these varieties, like Pliny's Cappadocian lettuce (*N.H.*19.38), and wild botanicals still hold a vital place in many of the rural villages

of the region – their continued role in life reminds us how intensively even the uncultivated spaces of the landscape were utilised.⁵¹

Generally overlooked by modern studies, the appearance in ancient sources of these minor crops, which tended to fill the demand for specialist and local products deemed to have superior qualities, reveals an important facet of the Cappadocian economy and its social underpinnings. Flax was undoubtedly an important contributor to the local economy and fitted into a flourishing cloth-making community during Late Antiquity and into the Middle Byzantine period. The marginal areas in which wild botanicals could be collected may imply more peasant involvement in this trade and the circulation of minor crops, and local specialty botanicals probably occurred in quantities and over distances far greater than common views of ancient transport and trade generally suppose. A good example of the surprising life and esteem of ancient and medieval products whose appeal and lifespan are long past is Cilician storax, which was a major local industry to the south of Cappadocia, the produce of which travelled as far as China.⁵²

Intensive farming, water management, and fertiliser

Despite the wide-open spaces and seemingly endless potential of the Cappadocian hills and vales, competition for land remained intense. In part water was a limiting factor – a glance at the settlement patterns of the region demonstrates that the major concentrations of population were on or near perennial water sources. Tyana lay on a tributary of the Lamus River, Sebasteia and Caesarea lay on the Halys, and Melitene lay near the Euphrates. The Halys valley was an important arable-farming landscape and was certainly irrigated. In his homily commemorating the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, Gregory of Nyssa recalled that the plain of Sebasteia, because of its circular form, became marshy. The waters of these marshes around the Halys were drawn off by farmers and irrigated the fertile landscape that blessed the city.⁵³ A letter attributed to Basil, lamenting the flooding of the Halys, noted that the violence of the river ruined the ‘grass-bearing land’ and the plough-land along the riverbank.⁵⁴

Surface water was generally scarce, however, and ground water sources were at a premium. Well-watered landscapes, like the Peristrema Valley or the broken dells of Soğanlı, supported sizeable troglodytic populations who farmed the narrow valley floors and hillsides as well as the hollows formed by eroding tufa amidst the cones and knolls of Rocky Cappadocia. The apparent sterility of the landscape in summer, with its brown grasses or bare slopes, is deceiving. A hiker who today

penetrates the network of cones and eroded hillsides will encounter dozens of small plots scattered along, above, and below the pathways that wend from hill to valley, and in which grow tomatoes, squash, melons, grapes, apricots, or other fruit trees. Apart from the tomatoes and squash, New World crops, the regime was much the same in the Byzantine era.

The potential of this volcanic tufa attracted cultivators from an early period and has several implications for Byzantine farming in the region. Many of these plots lie close to sources of surface water – small streamlets, springs, or boils are common in the valley bottoms. In these wet environments fruit and tree crops as well as herbs and other succulents flourished. If necessary, during dry spells they could be irrigated by hand or, less likely given the uneven terrain, by machine. The small size of most of these plots dictated their use as spaces reserved for gardens and cash crops – cereals offered little or no return in such small partitions. Water management was essential. The regional geography and climate probably rendered much of the region a dry land. Although average Cappadocian annual rainfall of almost 400 mm has been recorded over the past *ca* 60 years, and the lower limit for dry-farming of cereals is 200–250 mm, water supply for crop husbandry was problematic as the vast majority of precipitation occurs as snow and in a brief but intense period in the spring.⁵⁵ Supplemental watering, especially of market-garden or kitchen-garden crops, helped them to survive and increase yields. Small mineral springs dotted the landscape, but these were insufficient for intensive agriculture. In order to compensate for this generally semi-arid environment, the Byzantines (and likely those before them) altered substantially the hydrogeology of the region.

Extensive networks of subterranean canals were excavated, and these appear in practically all of the valley systems in Rocky Cappadocia; some also are known in areas outside this portion of Cappadocia. The hydrogeological engineering appears consistent in design and function for these valleys (see Figure 1.5) and may be summarised as follows.⁵⁶ The main torrent bed (the seasonal river course) was lined with drains and small dams. The drains conducted water to a major canal, the main water collector, while the dams trapped water to supply the area along the torrent bed. Another system of drains tapped into the water table below the surrounding hills and transported it to the dams and main water collector. This arrangement served two functions.

First, the riverbeds were converted into fertile areas. Torrents no longer flooded the lower portions of the valley, but were reduced to a moderate flow. Thus, crops could be planted early in the season without fear of

deluge. As the river dried, water trapped by the dams was contained in a manner analogous to a cistern, released through a small hole, sealed by a bung, at the bottom. The canals that tapped into the subterranean water table continually refilled the dam-cisterns.

The second function of this system was to convey water to areas outside the river valley. The main water collector of the Meskendir Valley travels at least 3.5 km.⁵⁷ Arterial canals brachiate throughout its course and conduct water to small plateaux. Again, the subterranean water table was tapped and fed into the main water conductor, ensuring a constant water supply. Furthermore, major canals could be linked together. Personal exploration in 2001 revealed a rock-cut dam-cistern fed by a small tunnel-canal excavated in the cliff face in Kızıl Çukur. Another tunnel-canal opens on the down-slope side of the cistern, very near its top, serving to convey water to other locations once this cistern reached capacity. The cistern remains in use, but its original level has required the old opening at the bottom to be sealed and a new one *ca* 1.5 m higher created to allow irrigation on the new ground level. Byzantine use or creation of this irrigation system is suggested both by the original ground level and the exposed chambers of the nearby cliff settlement, one of which preserves a red-painted cross. Attempts to trace the down-slope course of this system suggest that the canal eventually enters the Meskendir Valley system along the lines of the main water conductor.

Soğanlı Dere also exhibited evidence of two irrigation systems. A small dam-cistern lies approximately 150 m from the St Barbara church, in the converging valley from the east.⁵⁸ This water trap may be integrated to a canal system, for down-slope *ca* 30 m from St Barbara emerges a conduit issuing a small stream of water. The SSE Soğanlı Dere valley branch allegedly had an underground canal system of unknown source that conducted water and eventually emptied into the river at the foot of the valley.⁵⁹ This canal functioned until a severe rockslide occurred around 1968, and may have been Byzantine by virtue of the fact that its context suggests that it supplied much of the Byzantine settlement, which appears to have been arranged to accommodate the flow of the water.

The plains more removed from valleys also were irrigated, but larger hydrogeological systems were employed. These were of two primary types: *qanats* and open canals. The *qanat* (Turkish *keriz*) is an ancient technological system thought to have originated in Persia and eastern Turkey, where many are found.⁶⁰ It is an extended subterranean tunnel, commonly punctuated by wells, that taps into an aquifer. This

arrangement prevented water loss through evaporation and enabled conveyance many kilometres to agricultural and settlement sites; the amount of water conducted could be substantial. The available data reveal *qanats* not only in eastern Turkey, but also along the western fringes of Rocky Cappadocia, where Dr Ballance found one approximately 80 km from Konya (Byzantine Ikonion) running in a NNE direction.⁶¹ Based on the location of source (the end that taps into water) and direction of conveyance, it well may have supplied the area about Aksaray (Byzantine Koloneia).⁶² Another *qanat* supplied water to Sivas (Byzantine Sebasteia), while another, attributed by Furon (and accepted by Goblot) to the tenth century, supplied Kayseri (Caesarea) with water until 1955; yet another was discovered somewhere in Cappadocia, but its location is unrecorded.⁶³ These *qanats* served the dual function of providing water for urban inhabitants and water for irrigating land near the respective urban destinations. A further *qanat*, running from Çiçek Dağı for ca 100 km to the Kızılırmak, apparently was used for irrigation.⁶⁴

The second method of water conveyance and irrigation was through open canals and channels. The region between Konya and Niğde reveals several ancient canals used to transfer water from rivers and lakes into the plains.⁶⁵ Indeed, canal systems were extensive, distributing water from the major rivers to settlements in swathes of the region and allowing agricultural irrigation along their courses.⁶⁶ Furthermore, a stream could be created where needed by the formation of a hydric condenser, an artificial hill of stones that acts as a condensing barrier to blowing wind having at least some humidity. The hydric condenser near Yeşilöz, for example, stands about 50 m tall and 200 m in diameter and produces 1.5 l of water per second (129,000 l per day); these condensers were easy to build – requiring only labour, rock, and time – and blend into the local landscape; they are known also in Syria and the Sahara.⁶⁷ Additionally, catchment areas located above cliff complexes often were tapped by specially cut channels running the height of the cliff face that would direct the flow of water to specific areas of the floor of the cliff or valley.⁶⁸ Where water from the river valley systems could not or did not reach, the methods described above ensured the availability of vital moisture.

The situation thus was one of land suitable for and capable of intensive agriculture. The efficacy of such a system is confirmed by the analogous floodwater farming practices found in the early Byzantine Negev, where dams retarded water flow and thus encouraged the fine, fertile silt suspension to be deposited along the riverbed.⁶⁹



Figure 2.1 Dovecote

When these systems fell into neglect, as during the period of Turkomen invasion and Mongol attacks, much of the arable space of Cappadocia decayed into the desert conditions described throughout Anatolia in Crusader accounts.

In addition to regulating water supply as best they were able, ancient and medieval farmers strived to maintain the quality of soil without the benefit of chemicals available to farmers today. Cappadocians fertilised their land with animal dung or by marling the earth with crushed stone and tufa, which provided calcium, an important macronutrient in plant growth. But the vital component of soil fertility in Rocky Cappadocia particularly, and probably to lesser extents throughout the region, was fertiliser obtained from pigeon droppings. Pigeons, further discussed in Chapter 3, offered a high quality fertiliser – rich in the phosphates critical to plant development. Dovecotes are found in the thousands throughout the region and the most intensive period of their use seems to be the middle Byzantine period, as they are essential components of every rock-cut settlement of that era (Figure 2.1).

It is apparent from the *Geoponika* that dovecotes primarily were used for providing fertiliser rather than for raising fowl for consumption.⁷⁰ Pigeon dung was considered the best fertiliser, and its potency allowed cultivation of otherwise desolate land.⁷¹ Indeed, Demenge posits that the

Byzantine Cappadocians, whose ancient ancestors probably introduced the dovecote to much of the region, harvested the dung once yearly or every other year and utilised rudimentary crop rotation to magnify the effect of available resources.⁷² Thus, the thousands of Byzantine columbaria (dovecotes) indicate a substantial, intensive agricultural industry. Combined with marling practices and the manure harvested from other stock such as cattle and plough-oxen, the Cappadocian farmer had a relatively high ability to enhance soil fertility and thereby increase yields.

From the above, it is clear that certain parts of Byzantine Cappadocia, especially Rocky Cappadocia, had all the requisites for intensive agriculture: labour, fertiliser, and water. Indeed, the amount of fertiliser and water evidently available would have accommodated practically any crop known in the Byzantine era; only temperature was a primary determinant.⁷³ Early modern, and much modern, agricultural production in the area – the farmers of which utilised the same systems described above both for fertiliser and irrigation – suggests that the crops mentioned by the early sources were only a sample of what was grown: fruits, grapes, nuts, wheat and other grains, an assortment of vegetables, various flowers and roots for perfumes and medicaments, and oil-bearing plants. Some further corroboration may be found in the mills, granaries and wine and oil storage rooms preserved at several sites, including every subterranean town and village known to us.

The fate of the intensive, cereal-based, often hydraulically sophisticated mixed farming regime of late antiquity during the Dark Ages (seventh–ninth centuries) is an open question. Some evidence suggests that there was widespread decline in land utilisation due to the Persian and Arab attacks that characterise the era. Pollen samples recovered from Lake Nar, not far to the southwest of Nevşehir, for example, indicate abandonment of farming and the growth of woodland habitat, including a substantial increase in the pollen of *Quercus cerris*, Turkey oak.⁷⁴ Similarly, evidence from the Upper Euphrates basin shows an increase in *Quercus* growth during the Dark Ages, indicating a possibly serious decline in agriculture.⁷⁵ These data require additional reinforcement from more sources before anything like a catastrophic decline suggested by some can be safely assumed.⁷⁶ Certainly the shrinking of the population discussed above in Chapter 1 entailed diminishment of agrarian activity and probably other, deeper transformations of practice, but what these were are at the moment uncertain.⁷⁷

A letter written by Harun al-Rashid to Constantine VI in 796 upbraids the emperor for his bellicosity and urges him to accept peace and pay

the *jizya*. This somewhat schematised portrait of life on the frontier nevertheless has details that recall what we know of Cappadocian life, and at least were intended to ring true to the emperor. Harun claimed that war had ruined the antebellum tranquillity:

The fact that your labourers and aristans were quick to rework their land and repair whatever they disposed of... they spread out in order to rebuild and innovate in agricultural methods; they abandoned the summits of the mountains and the beds of marshes and went... digging canals, planting trees, and causing springs to burst forth, so that they prospered. Their situation flourished and their mountains became fertile....⁷⁸

This brief survey of the farmed Cappadocian landscape reveals several interesting features of life in Late Antiquity, conditions which were not radically altered until the pastoralisation of Anatolia in the later medieval period. Both written sources and material remains permit glimpses of intensive agricultural practices in place throughout the Byzantine era. Water management practices, the heavy reliance on animal fertilisers, and the existence of confined, labouriously-tended orchards in turn indicate a far greater potential for diversity of production, higher surplus, larger population, and generation of wealth. This is not to suggest that the entire landscape was a lattice of heavily productive plantations, but rather to correct the view that Cappadocia was by its nature a hopelessly agriculturally barren environment. Even in the vast majority of arable spaces, where extensive grain farming was the norm, the integration of livestock (discussed further in Chapter 3 below) significantly enhanced the potential of the region. Indeed, what is more shocking than the presence of these techniques, known throughout the vast majority of Byzantine territory, is the suggestion by scholars that they could have been absent in the first place and the consequent relegation of Cappadocia to a desert margin.

Industry

We have only scattered fragments of information on economic activities outside agriculture for the late antique period, and even less for the medieval period. While farming and herding sustained most people, Cappadocia also possessed the usual crafts and occupations of the ancient and medieval empire – builders, blacksmiths, potters, cobblers, merchants, and many other professions dwelled in both cities

and sometimes in villages, or travelled from place to place in search of work.⁷⁹ From the evidence found in the rock-cut churches and abodes discussed throughout this book, it is evident that local masons and painters were common. Most economic activity was small-scale, local, and whatever surplus was produced bound primarily for local markets. However, like the medicinal plants noted above, some texts provide hints that Cappadocian products did travel to other areas of Byzantium.

Leather and textiles

Since the land produced immense numbers of animals, it is unsurprising that texts note the presence of a Cappadocian tanning and fur industry. The fourth-century merchants' guide *Expositio totius mundi* listed (§40) 'Babylonian' hides (apparently so-called for a special tanning process or quality of leather) as a major product, alongside those of all sorts of animals. At 500 *denarii*, 'Babylonian' hides were the most expensive kind noted in the Edict on Maximum Prices (§8.1) issued by Diocletian (AD 301).⁸⁰ In addition, the *Expositio* mentions Cappadocia as a source for rabbit-fur vestments (possibly identical with the 'Babylonian' hides just noted), which must have been in demand in cold regions throughout the empire.⁸¹ If these were equivalent to the *strictoria leporina* of the Price Edict (§19.62), they were expensive, as they were affixed a price of 6000 *denarii*.

Bales of woollen cloth and finished carpets, blankets, and vestments were a major product of Late Antiquity in Caesarea and elsewhere in the region. Cappadocian carpets or woven blankets (*tapes*) are noted in the Price Edict (§19.19) and these were of fine quality – their fixed price of 3000 *denarii* puts them in the luxury category relative to other products. Woollens were locally made, perhaps on a factory basis like those of the *basileion historigiken*, the imperial garment factories mentioned by Gregory of Nazianzos.⁸² The industry was supplied by the flocks and herds discussed in Chapter 3. Indeed, Basil of Caesarea gained widespread support among imperial factory workers during his resistance to the anti-Orthodox programme of Valens.⁸³

In addition to the imperial clothing workshops, Caesarea supported an imperial *clibanaria*, an arms factory that specialised in providing armour and probably all tack and offensive weaponry, for the empire's heavy cavalry. The concentration of the necessary resources – iron, horses, clothiers, and skilled workers – makes one wonder how centralised was the process of equipping a cavalry unit, and to what extent many of the resources of the region were exploited with this end in mind.⁸⁴

The extensive processing, finishing, and trading of cloths and hides is unsurprising, recalling the important role of the third of our 'Cappadocian triad' of grain, wine, and wool. Finished cloth and leather products were ideal items of exchange in the uplands of Anatolia, since they were readily manufactured with the resources to hand and possessed a comparatively high value relative to their bulk, which in turn rendered feasible their long-distance overland transport. The trade in finished leather goods, flax cloth, and woollens supports the view of a Cappadocia that possessed a diverse economy with a reasonable number of specialist craftspeople. Their survival, probably in diminished form, is probable (for this see Chapter 7).

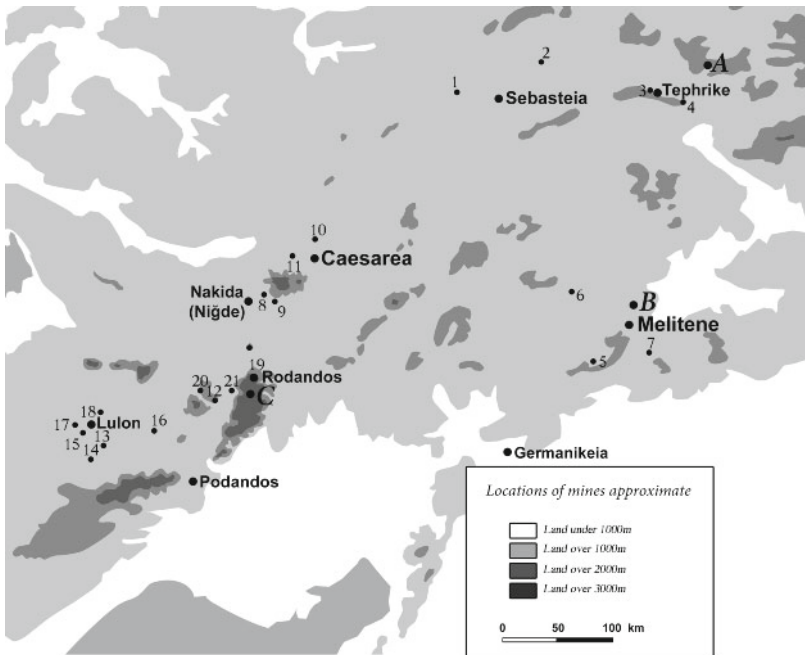
Mines and mining

Cappadocia produced a number of major and minor minerals, including metals. During early and Late Antiquity, Cappadocia was well known as a source of salt. Pliny noted salt extracted from Tuz Gölü (*N.H.* 31.39), whence the mineral was exported in small cubes (*N.H.* 31.41), and he also noted (*N.H.* 31.39) that Cappadocians mined salt that was cut into sheets and shipped around the Roman world. Some Cappadocian salt was saffron-coloured and pungent (*N.H.* 31.41), perhaps a description of sodium nitrate. The region remained known as a salt producer for some time. The agricultural writer Palladius mentioned it in the fourth century; Paul of Aegina (seventh century) recommended Cappadocian salt for mitigating inflammation around the eyes, among other complaints; and the testimony of Paul of Nicaea indicates its continued production and use in medicine into the Dark Ages.⁸⁵ Indeed, salt was obtained from Avanos from Late Antiquity through at least the thirteenth century.⁸⁶

Alum came primarily from the area of Koloneia, and gypsum (*lapis specularis*) was extracted northeast of Melitene.⁸⁷ Other sources of gypsum must have been exploited in Cappadocia, for the region was known as a famous source of *lapis specularis* in the Roman era and the mineral was an important ingredient in the paints found decorating many Cappadocian rock-cut churches such as Tokalı Kilise in Göreme.⁸⁸ The 'Sinopean' earth produced in Cappadocia was mined throughout the region and had attained wide fame by the first century AD at the latest (*N.H.* 35.13), and spongiform earth used in medicine (probably simply tufa) was used in medicine.⁸⁹ 'Phrygian' stone was also produced in Cappadocia; it had medicinal and dying uses. Elsewhere Pliny mentioned another rock called 'Cappadocian stone' (*N.H.* 37.56) – probably steatite, as he noted it was similar in

appearance to ivory, which could serve as an alternative for diptychs and other traditionally elephantine items when ivory was unavailable.⁹⁰ An unknown precious stone that Pliny (*N.H.* 37.56) called *caloptritis* also belonged to the region. Finally, Cappadocia produced a dark-purple jasper (*N.H.* 37.37). Once more the range of earth products reminds us that many articles made a small but important contribution to the local livelihood and general economy.

Metals, however, were the basis of the most important non-organic industries. Metal extraction and ore processing were commonplace in Roman-era Cappadocia, where Pliny notes that iron-ore was obtained by placer-mining (*N.H.* 34.41). The significance of mining was such that in 372 Basil petitioned the praetorian prefect Modestos to lower the taxes levied from Cappadocian iron miners.⁹¹ These taxes would have been taken in kind, the *feraria praestatio*, which in the fifth century was apparently assessed at one-fifth of total production (*CTh* 11.20.6) –surely an onerous rate for miners but important to the state.



Map 2.1 Mining sites

Mining never ceased while Cappadocia remained in Byzantine hands, although activity at any particular site undoubtedly fluctuated. With the present state of the data, only a brief survey is possible. Nevertheless, it is evident that mining was conducted widely and was economically important in and beyond the region. Map 2.1 provides the approximate locations of sites (numbered in parentheses and any alternative name) mentioned in the following discussion. However, it should be noted that many of the mines mentioned are proximate to others that are not. These areas of richer veins typically show a long history of exploitation, and so the following is likely understating significantly the intensity to which mining occurred in the region.

The crescent of territory starting just west of Sebasteia running to Tephrike and then to Melitene contains the greatest concentrated iron deposits in Anatolia.⁹² Approximately 90 km west of Sebasteia lie the iron and galena (lead-and-silver ore; argentiferous lead) mines of Akdağmadeni (1), which probably were exploited from before middle Byzantine times at least into the Seljuk period, protected by the fort Mushalem Kale.⁹³ Based on carbon-14 dating, lead (and perhaps other metals) was also extracted from Kuşunlu Köy (2) near Sebasteia from at least sometime in the fourth-century, and probably later.⁹⁴ The workings some 5 km west of Tephrike at Domluçadağ (3) and the iron mines mentioned by al-Idrisi (eleventh century) that may lie just east of Tephrike at Zimara (4) (previously Keramos) likely saw Byzantine exploitation. Whether exploitation of Gümüşsakar (A), northeast of Tephrike, occurred in Byzantine times is unknown, but the rich mine was apparently active in the 1200s.⁹⁵ Indeed, the capture of Tephrike from the Paulicians and the notable increase in silver coin produced from fresh or mined metal during the reign of Basil I noted by Gordus are unlikely coincidental and rather suggest that the ores of Tephrike were exploited from the time of Basil I onwards.⁹⁶ Continuing along the crescent, the environs of Melitene were rich in metal deposits; traces of iron workings and Byzantine-era remains have been found at Gözene (5) on the road that connected the city with Germanikeia.⁹⁷ Galena appears to have been mined most intensively: Kuluncak (6) contains several such deposits, and a 21 km² area NNE (B) of Melitene has numerous exposed ores, some of which preserve traces of ancient exploitation.⁹⁸ Just 40 km southeast of Melitene at Poluşağı (7), copper and zinc were mined from at least the Middle Period.⁹⁹

Situated more centrally in the region, Caesarea had served both as an imperial Roman mint and arms factory.¹⁰⁰ The Roman arms factory and the aforementioned late antique *clibanaria* are probably one in the same, persisting in operation. What is more, an arms factory,

operated by *exkoussatoi*, was active in Caesarea during the tenth century and probably beyond.¹⁰¹ It is uncertain whether this later factory should be considered a continuation of the Roman one or (more probable to our mind) a later '*de novo*' institution. Be that as it may, the Roman and Middle Period *armamenta* could be attributed to the importance of Caesarea's logistical position amidst critical ore fields in central Anatolia. The city produced zinc and lead at the mines of Delikkaya (8) and Aladağ (9).¹⁰² And within *ca* 50 km of Caesarea were two other ancient mining sites, Felâhiye (10; ancient name unknown) to the NNE and Pazarören (11; formerly Pazarviran) to the WSW, whose respective primary ores were copper and galena.¹⁰³ It is highly likely that these sites were exploited well into the Middle Period if not later.

The transportation of even smelted or refined ore required adequate roads as well as considerable time owing to the density of the commodity: any given volume of metal far outweighed the same in other goods. Given the limitations of overland transport and the expense of maintaining animals, every mile was an expensive one. Indeed, Hamilton observed similar considerations and practice in nineteenth-century Turkey, when ore from Caban Maden was transported to the nearest major centre for refinement and casting before despatch to Constantinople for final processing.¹⁰⁴ Caesarea was thus ideal, for it fell at the nexus of several major roadways, is equidistant from the deposits at Felâhiye and Pazarören, and not much further from other metal-rich sources mentioned below – making Caesarea an inevitable epicentre for the entire epoch.¹⁰⁵

Indeed, the ores from the Bolkar Dağları (Bolkardağ), the most important mining area in Cappadocia – and perhaps all Byzantium – probably supplied Caesarea with precious metals and useful alloys.¹⁰⁶ The Bolkardağ is a portion of the Taurus Mountain chain starting some 40 km from the Cilician Gates; it is primarily a high-ranging valley chain and includes Göltepe (12; Kestel). There are over 800 known mines exploited from antiquity in the Bolkardağ alone.¹⁰⁷ Atomic absorption analyses show that there were major deposits rich in silver (up to 9000 parts per million (ppm)), lead, copper, arsenic, iron, gold, and tin, the last of which was in concentrations of up to 3400 ppm.¹⁰⁸ These polymetallic veins were tapped by many mines in the area, including Sulucadere (13), Selamsızkar (14), Yedihaman Tepe (15), Madenköy (16), Gümüšköy (17; Gogceli), and Tekneçukur (18) – and evidence from carbon-14 dating, miscellaneous ceramic finds, and a few coins from these particular mines, when taken as a whole, indicates that the area was exploited more or less continuously from Late Antiquity into

the mid-eleventh century (and probably later).¹⁰⁹ This exploitation is corroborated by trace element-isotopic analysis of some Byzantine silver items.¹¹⁰ These mines usually preserve evidence of on-site foundries and ore processing areas; they were well-wooded areas with settlements nearby. In short, the mines of the Bolkardağ were ideally situated, supplied, and designed to exploit the precious ores there.

Additional metals were to be found in the environs of Rodandos (19), which were mined from antiquity possibly into or beyond the eleventh century, and a site south (*ca* 15 km) of Rodandos containing a copper-lead-zinc deposit also may have been exploited (C).¹¹¹ West of Rodandos are the remains of ancient and Byzantine mining settlements at Bereketli Maden (20; Çamardı-Kestel) and Güvür Kalesi (21), the former notably shows evidence of tin and silver mining and an ore-processing area suggesting substantial exploitation activity.¹¹²

These finds shed light on the persistence of Byzantine economic activity in Cappadocia during the period of Arab-Byzantine warfare and underscore the borderlands' critical role as suppliers of strategic and precious metals. Indeed, the intensity with which the Byzantines exploited the Bolkardağ mines and its environs in particular is illustrated by the appearance of decorative tinned copper objects, well crafted and resembling corresponding high-grade silver objects.¹¹³ As M Mango has suggested, the introduction of these tinned copper objects *ca* the ninth century does not represent a paucity of available silver, but rather a fresh supply of tin from the Bolkardağ area (the only known source of tin in Byzantium for that time).¹¹⁴ Moreover, the polymetallic nature of the primary deposit meant that purposeful extraction of tin provided valuable by-product ores that infused other metal-based industries, for no matter how conscientiously the Byzantines may have recycled metals, loss was inevitable – and even gold jewellery and coins at the time apparently were made from fresh gold.¹¹⁵ The tinned copper objects represent a growing metal extraction industry, and also probably of local metal artisans, in Cappadocia.¹¹⁶

The nature of control over mines and the metal produced remains an ill-understood topic. It appears that by Late Antiquity the majority of mines were already private – the aforementioned iron taxes suggest private ownership. From as early as the seventh century, direct government mining activities and oversight seem to have weakened, which the tumultuous centuries of Arab conflict and resultant insecure borders of Cappadocia undoubtedly intensified. But the state certainly continued to protect metalliferous lands and encourage their exploitation by private individuals or village entities. The fortress of Hisn al-Hadid

(unlocalised) means 'iron fortress' in Arabic and probably was meant in part to help protect ferric deposits in the Taurus; Maslama was said to have sacked it along with Masissa (Mopsuestia) in 669.¹¹⁷ Additionally, it is surely no coincidence that every mining site mentioned above finds near it at least one fortified site that likely was used if not built by the Byzantines.

Exploitation of precious metals probably fared similarly, particularly after the seventh century. Despite the various lists of offices and other written source material, it is not certain to which Middle Period official we may attribute securely the management of monetary ores as opposed to minted coins. The most likely scenario is one in which extraction was conducted privately and taxed by or mandated to be sold to the state. Towards that end, we are aware of two late tenth- or early eleventh-century seals, one each from Kappadokia and Charsianon, belonging to *notarioi* of the *sakellion*; these officials may also have been thematic *krites* (judges) at the same time.¹¹⁸ The tenth- and eleventh-century *sakellion*, which is not understood fully, was charged with collecting revenues (coins) as well as acted as some form of imperial comptroller of the fisc. Thus, the produce of silver mining (and probably other precious metals) would naturally fall under the purview of the Middle Period *sakellion*, especially since such mining directly fed the imperial treasury and would warrant the attention of officials of that particular *sekretion* (department), even if much mining were in private hands already by Late Antiquity. The duties of the late antique *sakellarios* of Cappadocia certainly suggest such an evolution: he had replaced the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, under whose pale the control of imperial silver fell.¹¹⁹ If our attribution of the *sakellion* is correct, then the presence of *notarioi* from that bureau, designated for entire themes, suggests that silver ore from mining in the argentiferous regions of Cappadocia was sufficiently widespread to warrant high-level interest and goes some way in supporting the circumstantial evidence discussed above. The dearth of seals from or representing the *sakellion* in other Cappadocian themes containing mining sites, whose presence should be expected in light of the above discussion, may indicate that other imperial officials (for example imperial domain managers such as *kouratores* or perhaps the financially-related *basilikos*) also were involved; perhaps reflecting the management of ores from mining areas under different forms of administration or falling under different bureaux. It is also entirely possible that this observed dearth owes to the often capricious nature of the survival of sigillographic evidence.

The paucity of data forces our observations to remain general, for it is unknown who owned exactly what land or actually controlled it. Mines located in imperial domains such as Melitene doubtlessly were under some form of imperial control. However, the number and disparate locations of mines noted above argue against a complete imperial monopoly ever having been possible. In view of the substantial elite holdings, epitomised by the Phokades and Maleinoi, as well as the number of elite complexes in Rocky Cappadocia discussed in Chapter 6, it is probable that the provincial elite possessed a significant number of mines. Indeed, the workings of the Bolkardağ apparently were exploited, and the settlements occupied, for a considerable time before the region was brought back into stable Byzantine control, which suggests private rather than imperial endeavour in this area. As the extraction of precious metals was literally the mining of money, there is little doubt that private individuals incessantly sought to exploit such resources and the wealth generated could be substantial indeed. It is probably in this context that the great Argyroi family appeared bearing their name ‘Silver’ (see Chapter 7).

This discussion has corrected several critical points on the late antique and middle Byzantine landscape of Cappadocia. Agrarian exploitation had considerably higher potential than has been recognised, marked by adaptability to environmental conditions, the widespread use of dry-farming and other current farming techniques, and considerable labour and material investment in the land. The fame of Cappadocian medicinal plants marks a minor, but widespread, economic pursuit hitherto unnoticed by scholarship. Cloth production and woollen goods worked on household and estate looms, the flax of local fields, and leather tanned from the region’s vast herds all represented raw materials that were toiled into goods that came to occupy a niche in the wider imperial economy and added considerably to the wealth of the region (on this see more discussion in Chapter 3 below). The many products of earth and metals likewise were of substantial worth, providing materials for local needs, to imperial workshops, or for export. Though their scale was probably reduced by the Persian and Arab invasions, these pursuits persisted afterwards – most were far older than the Roman or even Hellenistic exploitation of the countryside and as such were organic elements of human interaction with the Cappadocian environment. In their totality, the range of activities on the land reveals a late antique and Byzantine Cappadocian landscape far more diverse and vibrant than previously allowed, and one that in turn fostered a more complex society.

3

Land of Beautiful Horses

When he was governor of Cappadocia, the great spirited Nemesios plundered neither gold, nor silver, nor even the thoroughbred horses....

Gregory of Nazianzos *in Divites*¹

Equids

Well before the Byzantine era, Cappadocia was famous for its horses. So much so, in fact, that the name Cappadocia may be traced to the ancient Persian *Katpaktukya*, meaning 'land of beautiful horses'. Tradition holds that the custom of giving horses as tribute originated here, although this is almost certainly untrue, and ancient sources mention gifts (or tribute, depending on one's perspective) of horses presented to kings such as the Assyrian Assurbanipal, and the Persians Darius and Xerxes. Horses also were a component of taxes paid when the region was a Persian satrapy.² What symbols a society chooses to place on its currency can be very telling, and in this light the image of a horse emblazoned on the coinage of the ancient Cappadocian Kingdom is very much so – the horse was a central feature of the area's culture and economy, and Cappadocian horse rearing remained significant and vital to the Romano-Byzantine imperial interest in the region.

The region abounded in stock, and expert breeders produced a range of specialised equids. As Basil of Caesarea noted, there were specific horses the Cappadocian rich used to ride about town, another for travelling over long distances, another for pulling carriages, and still others for hunting.³ In his hunting treatise, *Kynegetika*,

the third-century Syrian author pseudo-Oppian wrote of the Cappadocian steed:

Those are the horses which you should array for manly war and against fierce wild beasts; for they are very brave to face arms and break the serried phalanx and contend against warlike wild beasts.⁴

The traits of the desired Byzantine cavalry horse had not changed substantially since antiquity, as the two foremost qualities sought by Nikephoros Ouranos for scouts, that mounts be powerful and hardy, were those pseudo-Oppian had praised seven centuries prior.⁵

The attention lavished on equids and the genealogies scoffed at by Basil were, in fact, key to the maintenance of bloodlines and selective breeding. Since animals were given individual treatment, breeding to type was possible, as breeders were able to identify desired and undesired traits in individuals and to work with a select group of sires that bred true. Cappadocian horses thus represented a true breed (or breeds), recognised throughout the empire. According to the fourth-century veterinary writer Apsyrtos, Cappadocian horses were like the Parthian breed, which he describes as tall and powerful, mettled, obviously well-bred and having especially good feet. Cappadocians differed from the Parthians only in having a coarser head.⁶ A late antique agricultural encyclopaedia widely circulated and consulted throughout Byzantium, the *Geoponika* (16.1), drew on material from Apsyrtos and offered the archetype for a stallion: he should have a small head, black eyes, short ears, a smooth neck, long and curly mane, a thick chest, strong shoulders and straight legs, a broad back and a thick, curly tail. Ideal mounts were dominant over their peers and were not easily spooked, but rather eager to charge through the unfamiliar. Though these descriptions are somewhat broad, a modern survival that resembles the horses that flourished in Cappadocia throughout antiquity and the medieval period is the Kabarda breed of Azerbaijan. The Kabarda horse was developed from several strains, including ancient Anatolian animals. It is a clean-boned animal with a silky neck, a powerful, rather compact frame and excellent adaptability and speed.⁷

In addition to riding horses, cavalry mounts and hunters, race horses were another staple in the herding economy, and these were exported throughout the empire. The emperor Gordian I (AD 238), himself probably a Cappadocian, gave 100 Cappadocian horses to the circus factions in Rome.⁸ The imperial post was dependent on Cappadocian horses.

The fourth-century Bordeaux Pilgrim noted that the *curule* horses came from the horse-rearing Villa Palmati located at Andabalis.⁹ This villa, upon confiscation, yielded substantial numbers of horses and moveable wealth, and nearly rivalled in extent that of imperial property.¹⁰

Scarcely less numerous, and equally important, were Cappadocian mules. Mules, the offspring of asses and horses, were commonplace throughout the Roman world. Strabo (11.13.8) noted that Cappadocia paid in tribute 1500 horses and 2000 mules to the Persians annually. Unsurprisingly, given the quality of their bloodstock, Cappadocia also produced high-quality mules. Pliny noted that breeders there mated domestic horses with wild asses (onagers); the result was certainly a particularly hardy mule. This practice continued, as it is attested in the *Geoponika* (16.21), where the results are also praised. Among the advantages possessed of mules were their generally quieter temperament, hardiness, and sure-footedness. Mules matured more quickly than horses and generally required less fodder and care – they were thus substantially cheaper to own than horses, though being sterile, they could not replace their numbers. Mules were also more efficient load-bearers than horses, being able to carry heavier loads over greater distances with less rest. These attributes made them ideal for the difficult climate and geography of Anatolia. The reputation of Cappadocia as a breeding centre for horses and mules meant that these animals, probably more than any other commodity, lay at the foundation of the late antique and medieval economy.

The writings of the Cappadocian Fathers are replete with references to horses; they frequently offer up anecdotes involving these animals, or use them in analogies to illustrate their points. Clearly the Fathers and their audiences were thoroughly imbued with the appreciation of horses as few people elsewhere. Gregory of Nazianzos describes the crowds of eager spectators who whipped the air and otherwise acted out the race as it unfolded before them.¹¹ Basil of Caesarea noted that men were horse-crazed; they changed drivers, hitched their chariots, and guided their drivers even in their dreams.¹² The jeering commentary of John Lydos describing foul Cappadocians (see Chapter 6) highlights the horse-drawn chariot race as the greatest source of excitement for them. Horses formed a vital part of Cappadocian identity; they were both ubiquitous and precious, a marker of status and a source of wealth for the inhabitants. They were worthy of names and adornment and their rearing was an issue of pride, genealogy, and memory. They provided transport, and were the vehicle of the ubiquitous rider saints. They thus carried authority on their back and the means to escape it. Horses emblemised competitive

spirit, tested the skill of their handlers, had to be broken, and signified swiftness and bellicosity. From this it is hard not to see something of the prideful, independent outlook of the Cappadocian people.

The cycles of *Digenis Akritis* provide tantalising glimpses into the importance and status of these animals for Cappadocia and the surrounding frontier lands. Horses are described as noble (1.146; 2.294), were given as important gifts (2.94–6) and were used for transport everywhere (for example 1.86; 2.153–4) – at least for those who could afford them – and horsemanship and mounted combat were part of the ultimate assessment of manly virtues. Constantine, who sought the release of his abducted sister, was challenged to combat *mano à mano* by the emir to settle the matter. The challenge was set to test the valour and worthiness of Constantine (and through him, his group); combat was to be done mounted. The brother fitted out his weaponry and attire, ascended his horse and charged forth. One of the onlookers, a Dilemite frontiersman, noted Constantine's spurring and expert wielding of spear and sword, and cautioned his emir against overconfidence. The emir resplendent, charged his horse – it executed tricks of manoeuvring, which spoke volumes about the qualities and prowess of both rider and steed. Ultimately, however, the emir conceded after hours of unrelenting combat (1.113–97). The account reflects a heroic tale, but a kernel of truth remains. The horse-warrior ethos was no idle boast, and special mounts raised in horse-cultures like Cappadocia were highly esteemed and could be trained; the steed was a strong reflection of the owner, his status and virtues. *Digenis* was taught horsemanship as part of his formal education, starting at an early age (7.70), reflecting not only his aristocratic lineage but also his destiny as a great warrior. These riding skills were the finished product of long practice in hunts and in cutting herds. The martial requirements of Maurice's cavalry, given in the *Strategicon* (1.2), and the tight formations, manoeuvres and tactics executed later by the *kataphraktoi* and other cavalry give some indication of the training and discipline required of both rider and steed. It is probably not coincidence that both Maurice and Nikephoros Phokas – the latter of which represents the archetypal period of the *kataphraktoi* – were both Cappadocian emperors.¹³ Both commanders had extensive military experience on both the eastern and western theatres, and were familiar with the capacities and deficiencies of mounted troops from the start of their careers.

The elevation a horse gave its rider was not only literal. Warrior saints such as Ss George and Theodore (and to a lesser degree Ss Prokopios and Demetrios) are frequently depicted mounted in Cappadocian

churches (for example Yılanlı Kilise), conducting their usual business of spearing dragons or serpents, or slaying pagans (Demetrios). Yet we also find the rare depiction of equestrian-saints triumphant, for example the Church of St Barbara (Ss George and Theodore) at Göreme (among others). The reason for finding such unusual portrayals of these military saints is not clear, but for this particular church the association with victory is emphasised by the appearance of several military standards painted on the walls, which may offer insight as to the nature of the founders of those churches depicting equestrian-saints triumphant.¹⁴ The association of triumph with a mounted figure, which traces back into antiquity, certainly adds a sense of status and martial potency and places particular emphasis on the individual so depicted. It is no doubt for these reasons that Tzimiskes and Melias are illustrated triumphant on steeds in the Pigeon House Church at Çavuşin.¹⁵ While all of Byzantium could identify with such imagery, it probably held a special appeal to Cappadocian society.

The Church of St Barbara at Göreme also preserves medium- and low-quality monochromatic red decorations, in which is found a poorly drawn horse; its presence alongside other animals important to Cappadocian life further emphasises the significance of the horse. So too do several small, red (and sometimes white) equine figures found occasionally in Cappadocia painted over doors to rock-cut chambers. The context of these markings is unclear – none extant are associated with stables, but rather with now anonymous rooms – yet it is apparent that they were done to attract notice and perhaps draw association with something important. Perhaps some were signs to designate horse-related businesses such as saddle-makers or horse-shoers, but others like one seen on an upper level of a cliff village near Kızıl Çukur probably denoted something else – perhaps a horse breeder or trainer? Whatever their purpose, these images remind us of the prominent place of the horse within the imagination of ancient and medieval Cappadocians.

Even sheltering a horse could be a point of pride or status. While stables could be for mixed housing or stock animals (discussed below), certain elite complexes discussed in Chapter 6 have stables apparently for horses. Selime Kalesi has one, which could accommodate at least eight horses, situated along what was the only approach to the complex from the open ground. A rider could advance near the tunnel that ascended to the complex, dismount, and stable the horse very close to it. The stable of Saray at Erdemli, designed for 18 horses, is more integrated; it is located just west of the monumental entry ensemble. Here,

a rider either could dismount at the main entry and have the horse led to the stable, or could ride the few extra metres to the stable and dismount inside it and then proceed through the connected hallways into the central portion of the complex. The stable's facade has eroded away almost completely but appears to have shared the monumental design that surrounds it. Açık Saray 2 and 4 could accommodate 17 and 20 horses respectively, and were located within easy reach of the main entryways, although they were not connected with hallways like at Saray at Erdemli. The stable facades of Açık Saray 2 and 4 have also been destroyed, but likely were decorated with the same hallmark motif seen at their respective complexes. In contrast to many other stables known to us, for example at Paşabağı or Ovaören, the stables of these elite complexes appear generally taller and better excavated. The monastery Yusuf Koç, which preserves half of its stable, reveals similar qualities to the elite stables in terms of height and superior excavation, but the monastery stable lacks the elevated niches along a dedicated wall and adjoining support chambers found with the aforementioned stables of the elite complexes. Thus, the stables found associated with elite complexes appear to share specific architectural designs that are functionally distinct from the other extant stables, and probably were dedicated to horses.

Certainly, not every horse was stabled. The majority of elite complexes seem to lack associated stables, although this impression may owe to erosion in some cases. But the treatment of horses in the will of Eustathios Boilas (see Chapter 6) is suggestive. Eustathios classified all of his wealth as moveable, semi-moveable, and self-moveable, the last of which included horses and flocks. Despite lacunas in the text, Eustathios never makes specific mention of horses, but rather refers to them categorically as self-moveable property. It is surprising that specific disposition of his personal mount was not made in his will – and considering his Cappadocian roots and aristocratic heritage, it is inconceivable that he did not have at least one. It may well be that Eustathios considered his personal mount as a logical part of his personal residence, which he bequeathed to his children. To this former civil bureaucrat, then, horses were items of inventory. In general it seems horses were not stabled but tethered or corralled outside, which would explain the otherwise curious dearth of stabling facilities apparent at all known Cappadocian forts. Again, incomplete archaeological exploration or simple destruction may be the cause in many cases, but we know that *kastra* and fortified places had standing garrisons, at least some of which had a cavalry component and yet lack stables.¹⁶

Horses are today deemed notoriously fragile animals, and would seem especially vulnerable to the harsh winter climate of Cappadocia if left unsheltered. However, such was not the case. The critical temperature threshold for fine-hair horses in general is about 14 degrees C, at which point special measures are needed to ensure winter survival.¹⁷ The highest quality riding, racing, and cavalry mounts (or at least most desired for aesthetic and prestige reasons) were analogous to modern fine-haired horses. It is worth noting, however, that medium- and heavy-coated horses are often seen in Cappadocia today and are far more resilient to cold climate in all regards, with critical temperature thresholds of about 7 and -2 degrees C respectively. These last two types likely have been common throughout the region for millennia, and were ideally adapted for such climates. They also agree well with the Kabarda breed mentioned above. Rough forage, such as steppe grasses and the hay fed to horses throughout the harsh Anatolian winter, generated considerable heat during the course of digestion, which helped keep the herds alive in difficult conditions. Given that many steppe ponies of Eurasian nomads faced even harsher climates than that offered up by Cappadocia, it seems fair to say that the horses of the region were well-adapted and highly fit to survive the winters even when on the range.

Herding instinct also provides some defence against winter weather. Crowding allows for the sharing of body heat, and can somewhat mitigate the effects of wind. This tendency was likely augmented by the instinctual gravitation to natural windbreaks still witnessed in wild (and domesticated) herds today. Namely, ravines, box canyons, hills, forests, and tree lines (to a lesser extent), and other natural formations are sought to lessen or block chilling gusts. Wind avoidance alone greatly diminishes the effects of a very bitter winter.¹⁸ Another benefit to the herding instinct is that young horses show a dramatically better winter survival rate when with older horses, from which the young learn and effectively receive a calming emotional support. Cappadocians, as a people long-versed in horse rearing, knew these things and managed their horses accordingly. Forage land and fodder would have been allocated for the winter months; grooming schedules would have anticipated winter needs; horses would have been translated to naturally sheltered areas before the cold and windy season began. In many cases, like Saray at Erdemli discussed in Chapter 6, animals were probably kept by the estate or main settlement owing to the advantageous geography of the site. In other cases, herds were probably moved to specific winter grounds that afforded natural shelter and access to water and

forage. When we consider the geography and agricultural capacity of Cappadocia (discussed in Chapter 2) generally, it is easy to see that the region had the necessary ingredients for successful horse rearing despite its harsh winter climate.

In order for the herds to survive, massive stores of hay were required. Each adult needed 4.5 kg (10 lb) of fodder daily – in the winter time this took the form of hay, which was vital when grassy forage was dormant or blanketed in snow. To supply a minimum of three months hay per animal, farmers needed to store about 450 kg for each horse. In addition, barley and other nutrient-dense feeds were necessary for pregnant females and working horses. A working horse required the supplement of 1.5 kg of grain daily, about 550 kg each year.¹⁹ The 800 mares owned by St Philaretos in Paphlagonia would have required 440,000 kg of barley annually and 360,000 kg of hay during the winter months. About 1900 *modioi* (160 ha) were required to produce this amount of barley and an area of about 7325 *modioi* (586 ha) to supply the hay. Pasturage of about 960 ha was needed to supply their fodder from spring through autumn. In order to avoid overgrazing of pastures, another hectare of dedicated pastureland of medium quality was required per horse. Given that the subsistence holding of a Cappadocian peasant farmer ranged from 2.5 –7 ha, the expense of raising horses is obvious.²⁰ However, equids and other stock often filled ecological niches beyond that exploited by sedentary farmers, such as uplands or marginal zones far from villages and towns. Since such vast spaces abounded throughout Cappadocia, horses and other livestock made their exploitation profitable.

For a region so rich in horse-rearing tradition, it is vexing that we have no surviving records or other direct indication of how many horses, mules or donkeys were raised at any time in late antique or middle Byzantine Cappadocia. At Çadır Höyük horses are poorly represented and clearly more investigation of this type is needed.²¹ The best we can offer is a framework for insight. For comparison, we look to the district of Malagina that has been identified with the Sangarios Plain in Bithynia. Malagina had been the location of the imperial stables from before the ninth century well into the Komnenan era; it was here that horses and mules were maintained for troops of the Opsikion and Thrakesion themes campaigning eastward as well as housing the imperial saddle during the Middle Period.²² Malagina stretches some 25 km with a breadth varying from some 3–5 km and apparently was comprised of excellent quality grazing land.²³ Malagina perhaps comprised 12,500 ha (125 km²) of prime grazing land, and prime meadow of this kind could support one horse per 1.2 ha or so – equating to

approximately 10,400 equids. Of course, much of Cappadocia was not of the best quality grazing land, nor do we have such precisely defined territories in which the rearing of horses, mules and donkeys occurred. Perhaps the Villa Palmati at Andabalis, mentioned above, compared well with Malagina in terms of horse capacity or density. Doubtless, other areas in Cappadocia did too, such as Lykandos, which was ideally suited for horse and stock rearing.²⁴

Although our sources are limited and results of any quantified study notional, an investigation on some possible figures of animals required by the state, the military and the *dromos*, are instructive. From the seventh through ninth centuries, the Arabs were a threat of the first order that jeopardised the very existence of Byzantium, which eventually underwent several changes in order to survive. During the course of these events the cavalry became paramount in the army, needed to counter highly mobile enemy forces, though infantry never fully vanished.²⁵ The result was an escalating dependence on horses and mules. The thematic cavalrymen were responsible for providing their own mounts. In theory, tagmatic cavalry generally received their horses from imperial horse lands, but in practice it appears that they often purchased them from markets by means of a higher salary bestowed partly for such a purpose or even supplied their own from granted lands.²⁶ Cappadocia, with its long history of horse raising and large imperial landholdings, must have been at the centre of supply for both provincials and Crown.

The number of cavalry available to a theme doubtlessly varied at any given time, but the average for a larger theme such as Kappadokia or Charsianon under Leo VI was 4000, similar in size to an imperial cavalry *tagma*.²⁷ The necessary remounts and pack mules resulted in a total of about 14,000 equids for 4000 cavalry to operate for only 24 days – the maximum duration for which adequate barley for horses could be transported without resort to substantial, unwieldy logistical trains that possibly required wagons.²⁸ For a smaller theme, 500–800 cavalry apparently was the norm; 1750–2800 beasts were required including remounts and baggage train.²⁹ As the pendulum swung to favour Byzantium in the struggle for supremacy along its eastern borders, its armies began to strike into Muslim lands.³⁰ This posed substantially greater demands in terms of logistics: food and goods for men and animals had to be transported into areas lacking supply depots, achieved primarily on the backs of horses, ponies, and especially mules.³¹ While a mobilised force of 4000 cavalry required 14,000 animals, armies venturing forth often included contingents of foot soldiers raised from the

themes, which entailed additional pack animals.³² Furthermore, adding heavy infantry to the mix required disproportionately more mules. The tenth-century *Praecepta militaria* calls for one pack mule for every two heavy infantry plus extra mules for each man unable to meet the pace of the cavalry train.³³ As 11,200 heavy infantry was the prescribed number for a campaign army in the *Praecepta*, a minimum of 5600 pack mules were needed in addition to the baggage train, cavalry mounts and remounts.³⁴ Another 1086 pack mules were required whenever the emperor accompanied an army on campaign.³⁵ Yet the baggage train of the emperor was not comprised of animals from the imperial stables, but rather from all sectors of society; notably the themes.³⁶ Thus, a force comprising the emperor, 4000 cavalry and 11,200 heavy infantry required a minimum of 26,686 equids, approximately 1.75 animals per person. This does not include the transport of poliorcetic equipment, some of which must have been carried alongside the army. It is unclear how many more pack animals would have been needed, and doubtlessly varied.³⁷ And we have not accounted for the special scouts (*doukatores*) and spies (*kataskopes*) mentioned in the *taktika*, employed by the army yet separate from it; the *trapezitai* (essentially hussars) provided additional scouting as well as raiding.³⁸ The numbers involved for these groups are never specified, but they probably counted in the hundreds in total for any fielded army – it was prescribed to have a ‘large’ number of *trapezitai* alone, and they appear not to have been a part of the normal army. On top of this, the *strategoï* whose territories fell along frontier zones like Cappadocia (particularly Charsianon, Kappadokia, and Lykandos) were directed to maintain watch posts along all approaches; these posts were supported by another network of cavalry stations to speed word of any impending attack to the appropriate *strategos*.³⁹ It is not clear whether these cavalry posts were considered (and joined) as a normal part of a mobilised army. In other words, a miscellany of groups, which in total may have been significant in number, must be added to the overall military in terms of equid requirements.

In order to satisfy the requirements of the thematic cavalry of the days of Leo VI noted above (approximately 14,000 cavalry mounts), a theme like Charsianon would have no doubt relied on a mixture of private breeders and state horse lands. Indeed, this was generally commonplace until the end of cavalry warfare, since quality horses were always at a premium and private breeders were often able to supply superior bloodstock, especially stallions that could make a lasting impact on the gene pool. At a minimum annual replacement rate of about 15 percent, a typical theme would need 4000 mares to supply the

2500 foals required. But given the exacting demands of cavalry horses – they needed to be superior not only in bodily conformation, but in intelligence, temperament and overall health – it is likely that double this number (8000 and 5000, respectively) were needed. Though a few stallions would have handled stud duties on government ranches, private breeders would likely possess their own and so there were probably hundreds of breeding stallions throughout the theme. Finally, cavalry horses were usually drawn into service in their fourth year, once they had reached full maturity, meaning the 4000–8000 mares had three foal crops in pasture waiting to come of age, numbering some 8000–16,000 juveniles. Cursory as they are, these calculations suggest that a theme like Charsianon would dedicate to military needs at minimum 11,000–25,000 equids, and probably in actuality much higher, to maintain the 14,000 ‘on active duty’.

In order to support the proposed minimum 25,000 cavalry horses and breeding stock, 437,500 *modioi* of grazing land was needed (35,000 ha; 350 km²). In order to meet their grain requirements, another 2.5 *modioi* (0.2 ha) per steed was required, or a total of 62,500 *modioi* (5000 ha; 50 km²). Finally, 228,750 *modioi* (18,300 ha; 183 km²) of hay land was required to provide provender for the winter months. In aggregate, the *maximum* room required just for the thematic cavalry mounts of a theme like Charsianon was therefore some 58,300 ha (583 km²). In practice horses, along with oxen and sheep, were integrated into the tillage pattern of Cappadocian farmers. By Late Antiquity at the latest, farmers in the east practiced convertible husbandry, in which animals became a means by which to generate surplus yields from farmland – in the case of Cappadocia, to turn fallow lands or steppe into horse muscle – before turning the lands under the plough.⁴⁰ In these farming regimes, a legume-grain-livestock rotation maximised land resources while safeguarding soil quality, although the role of equids in this regard appears to have been less effective than stocking ungulates. In addition, horses were likely part of the transhumance stocking in which animals were driven north into the Pontic range, east into the Antitaurus, or south to the Taurus to summer pastures and their forage requirements thus outsourced for three months of the year.

In terms of infrastructure, horses, mules and donkeys were an essential element of the imperial post for fast transport.⁴¹ The consumption of equids by the post was not insignificant, and the considerable number (at least 58) of post stations – which maintained spare horses – suggests sizeable numbers were needed constantly.⁴² Each *stathmos* maintained a string of 40 horses at the ready; these were a mix of draught animals

and fast racers which could cover the long distances noted in the sixth century by Prokopios (*Anec.* 30.3). Given the continued maintenance of the postal system into the medieval period, there seems little reason to doubt the essential continuity of this set-up.

Attrition, whether through age or use, was high, requiring an annual inflow of about 25 percent in new horses.⁴³ Though the number fluctuated over time, depending on the territorial condition and fiscal health of the empire, at its peak the *dromos* in Cappadocia needed 2040 working equids and 510 replacements each year. The burden of supplying horses to the post fell on the imperial government, who supplied some of the demand from the imperial studs. But the need for horses, donkeys, and mules was so great that the state felt compelled to pass a considerable portion of the burden on to the provincials. Basil of Caesarea intervened with the *comes privatarum*, who was, wrongly the bishop asserted, attempting to extract mares from villagers.⁴⁴ And Constantine VII demanded 400 mules and pack horses to be delivered to the stud at Malagina from the imperial *mitata*, post- and breeding-stations in Asia, but these seem often to have filled the orders through levies among the provincials.⁴⁵ The levies were expensive for provincials and detestable to men like Nikephoros Ouranos, who described the obligation of providing mounts and fodder as an 'invasion' and 'strangulation'.⁴⁶

And then there were the elite, whose ownership of horses likely was ubiquitous, and who must have had remounts and breeder stock as well. If, as seems the case, the Cappadocian appetite for chariot races and other equine events continued, then additional horses must be accounted for here too. Some number of merchants also utilised donkeys or mules for transporting cargo, and these animals were far superior to the ox in rough, uneven terrains. In all, the demands of the thematic cavalry forces, pressure from imperial needs in the post (as well as elsewhere throughout the empire), and the value of Cappadocian stock throughout the empire means that tenth-century Cappadocia was home to at least 100,000 horses. These were joined by perhaps the same number of donkeys and mules, which were hardier and even more useful than their finer equine relatives.

The tremendous repository of wealth represented by these animals is immediately apparent. In addition to the tax value to the state noted above, there was buoyant private demand. Equids unequivocally represented the most valuable class of animal commodity in Byzantium, with the lowest-value horse or mule worth at least 3 times the price of an ox or cow and 72 times the price of a sheep or goat. Horses were valued up to 20 *nomismata*, mules at 15, and donkeys probably

at 12. The substantial cost for any equid reflected at least in part the considerable expense and resource intensiveness required to raise one.⁴⁷ Clearly, considerable amounts of land were needed to raise even a small herd – only partially offset by the ability to pasture horses in part on fallow land, and thus coming at an opportunity cost of agriculture or raising other stock animals on the same plots. In essence, equids were a less efficient fit into the agricultural symbiosis than other ungulates, which produced better fertiliser, milk, and meat in exchange for the resources they consumed. Thus, horses could be raised in significant numbers only by those of some means or who had the ability to dedicate land for an essentially exclusive purpose.

Good horse lands were always desirable. The high value of equids made owning such pastureland potentially very profitable, their utility served a variety of needs, and their martial applications made them strategic assets. Thus, everyone desired control of horse lands. Probably throughout history, a modest number of independent peasants owned small parcels of decent pasturage – perhaps enough to rear a few equids on their respective lands. Nikephoros Phokas mentions rustics who were mounted and carried clubs and though these might have simply been the ranch hands of the elites, they may also represent a common middle Byzantine Cappadocian drover.⁴⁸ More certainly, the elite accumulated prime horse lands whenever possible; so did the crown. The Villa Palmati, mentioned above, was initially a privately owned horse centre subsequently confiscated by the state. Desire for prime horse areas certainly was one factor in the late antique elite grabbing imperial lands that so infuriated Justinian.

The case of Malagina, mentioned above, helps provide a notion of where the crown might have possessed prime horse land in Cappadocia at one time or another through two observations. First, Malagina was an *aplekton* prior to assuming the mantle of imperial stable sometime before the ninth century.⁴⁹ The *aplekta* were special military *entrepôts* to support mobilised forces moving eastward and appear to have served as encampments, logistical stores, and stables.⁵⁰ Other *aplekta* were located in good horse-rearing areas as well, including those situated in Cappadocia: Koloneia, Caesarea, Bathys Rhyax, and Dazimon (Tokat). Thus, the *aplekta* represented one category of state-owned horse lands. This is not to say that the *aplekta* were exclusive to horse rearing, but rather that one of the functions was as significant horse breeding and stabling areas; the imperial allocation of barley known to be done through the thematic *protonotarios* could certainly help overcome any pasture deficiencies.⁵¹

Second, Malagina is found listed as an *episkepsis* in 1069, at which time it still served as the principal imperial stable.⁵² The institution of the *episkepsis* dates back to at least sometime around 650–750, as indicated by the earliest known seal of a certain *episkeptites* George.⁵³ Like most Byzantine administrative offices, the *episkepsis* is not fully understood. Evidently, it fell early on under the great imperial *kourator* and also held some relationship with the Divine Houses. Intermittent evidence from seals, lists of precedence, and sundry written sources indicate that the institution of the *episkepsis* persisted beyond the twelfth century. During this time the *episkepsis* evolved. At the end of the ninth century, the *episkeptites* (the official overseeing an *episkepsis*) could fall under the great *kourator*; or the *logothete* of the *dromos*, the troops, or the herds; or under the eparch; and around the eleventh century, the *episkepsis* came to fall under the *oikeiakon*, a *sekreton* incepted by Basil II.⁵⁴ At all times, however, the *episkepsis* designated some form of imperial holding.⁵⁵

The late tenth and especially the eleventh century reveal a dramatic increase in *episkeptitai* in the sigillographic record throughout Byzantium, which probably reflects general activities on the ground at least as much as the capricious survival of the evidence. Without doubt, the *episkepsis* were situated on particularly valuable land, whether it be in terms of agriculture, animal rearing, mining, and so forth. In the case of Cappadocia and its environs, there is an apparent association of the *episkepsis* with excellent horse-rearing land. The two estates grabbed through opportunism by the *parakoimomenos* (guardian of the emperor's bedchamber) and imperial eunuch Basil Lekapenos around Longinias (by Tarsos in Cilicia) and Podandos – both famous horse lands – eventually came under imperial control as *episkepsis*.⁵⁶ The *episkepsis* of Rodandos, Arabissos, and Tephrike (in addition to its mining attributes) were excellent horse areas too.⁵⁷ Not all *episkepsis* in Byzantium were directly related to horse-rearing lands, but in the case of Cappadocia and its immediate environs, such seems to be the case. In fact, Phrygia shows a similar and compelling evolution. Dorylaion, which was an *aplekton*, is found designated in the eleventh century as an *episkepsis*. And we have the ninth-century seals from the *mitaton* of Phrygia and *episkeptitai* from Lampa and Mesanakta, both known as good horse areas in Phrygia.⁵⁸ These ranches would have covered huge tracts and possessed herds numbering thousands. Their operation required staffs of drovers, grooms, veterinarians, guards, and overseers.⁵⁹ Much like the *aplekta* above, the *episkepsis* likely had many actively exploited resources (certainly including stocking animals), but

with the need for superior horses and pack animals, equids were surely a primary focus.

There is also a notable military association with these *episkepseis*. Acknowledging that the evidence is far from complete, it can nevertheless be seen that many of the *episkepseis* in Cappadocia and its eastern environs were territories (re)conquered by the crown – of those seemingly confiscated, Longinias was in reality a prize of conquest, and Rodandos may have been taken from the would-be usurpers Nikephoros Phokas Crookneck and Nikephoros Xiphias after an armed revolt. Moreover, they are all sites that held important *kastra* or were critical military stopping and staging posts (so too for those in Phrygia). This point has been noted by Cheynet, who adds further evidence from the *episkepsis* of Anthia, somewhere in Anatolia and used in the campaigns of Romanos IV Diogenes and Philaretos Brachamios against the Turks, as well as other examples in the west.⁶⁰ The *episkepseis* may have been the effective successor to the *aplekta* in terms of general function.

Howard-Johnston has written about the eastern *episkepseis* and *kouratoria*, placing them in the context of the centre-periphery struggle that often characterises the historiography of the Middle Period (about which, see Chapter 7).⁶¹ However, it bears noting that the institution of the *episkepsis* may have served a different function in terms of resource extraction, and probably fell under a different department (*sekretion*), from that of the *kouratoria* rather than fall under the latter's purview sometime in the Middle Period – a hint of which might be indicated by the *Peira* on the legal status of holdings of the emperor and empress, which mentions the *kouratoria* and *episkepsis* separately and thereby seems to distinguish between the two despite their identical legal privileges.⁶²

Namely, the *episkepseis* discussed above show particular association with pack animals (especially horses) and military functions as staging posts and supply. The *kouratoria*, on the other hand, from the tenth century onwards appear centred on territories with notable trade and tax income. Melitene was certainly wealthy in these regards (and had a treasury). So too was the *kouratoria* of Artze (which became a major trading centre); that of the 'Armenian Themes' (not to be confused with the large, old theme Armeniakon); that of Mantzikert and Inner Iberia; that of Derzene, Rachaba, and Chazizin; and that of Chaldia, Derzene, and Taron, for example.⁶³ The case of Chaldia and its relationship with Derzene is suggestive. Chaldia was historically particularly rich in trade and the resultant tax revenues (*kommerkion*), which supplied half of the salary for the presiding *strategos* in the tenth century.⁶⁴

Meanwhile, Derzene reveals a late tenth-century seal of an *episkepsis*, at which time Derzene probably played a military role amidst a contested frontier.⁶⁵ In the following century, however, the broader area was brought fully under imperial control, and the *episkepsis* of Derzene was transformed and amalgamated into the *kouratoria* of Derzene, Rachaba, and Chazizin, and later into that of Chaldia, Derzene, and Taron. Since the seals of Derzene predominantly place it under the same governance as Chaldia, territorial reallocation for this portion of the empire in terms of thematic, fiscal, and kouratorial management likely crystallised sometime after Taron was brought into the fold.⁶⁶ It is surely no coincidence that all of the above *kouratoria* were nexuses of trade and relatively rich in *kommerkion*.

Imperial estate management of Mesopotamia is more problematic to interpret, since there were two such toponyms, one in the east and one in the west that existed during the apparent date range of the known imperial estate seals bearing that name. In other words, the seals from the *episkepsis* of Mesopotamia may not refer to the same territory that the seals of the *kouratoria* of Mesopotamia do. Traditionally, however, the sigillographic editors have attributed all such seals to the eastern Mesopotamia.⁶⁷ At present, we see no definitive way to clarify the issue of attribution. Considering the number of *episkepsis* that dotted the territory around the western Mesopotamia, and their chronology, military associations, economies largely in-kind, and later consolidation into a form of unified *episkepsis*, it would be entirely plausible to attribute the Mesopotamian *episkepsitai* seals to the west. If the editors are correct, however, in an eastern attribution, then it bears noting that the eastern Mesopotamia also was treated differently from the normal Byzantine governing structure. The territory was described by Constantine VII as previously an unnamed *kleisoura* or unofficial theme before its elevation, and indeed the office of a *strategos* there is attested in 810/11 before full control was achieved.⁶⁸

Furthermore, the presiding *strategos* of the eastern Mesopotamia was paid initially from the *kommerkion* revenues of the territory; in the eleventh century the *strategos* continued to be paid in part by the *kommerkion*, as evidenced by the *strategos* seal bearing indiction markings and an obverse very similar to those found on *kommerkiarioi* seals. During the time in which the *episkepsis* and *kouratoria* may have co-existed in Mesopotamia, there also was a similarly conflicting administrative evolution in which a *strategos* and a *katepano* both sat over the territory. With the broad date attributions for all of the

Mesopotamian imperial estate seals, it may well be that the *episkepsis* was earlier than and transformed into the *kouratoria* as the frontier was brought under fuller control, trade reached substantial proportions, and the administration structure was worked out.

Stabilising territories combined with increased cash-based extractions may also explain the transformation of Seleukia from an *episkepsis* into a *kouratoria*. From sigillographic data, it appears that Seleukia was an *episkepsis* in the tenth century, perhaps into the eleventh, that eventually was swept into the fold of the grand *kouratoria* of Tarsos.⁶⁹ Presumably as control solidified throughout the environs, with administrative structures adjusted and cash availability increased due to escalating trade levels, Seleukia's *episkepsis* needed to change. More light might be shed once the Seleukian seals pertaining to the *episkepsis* receive direct study with an eye to refining the chronology.

The notion that the *episkepseis* typically had a different specific function and belonged to a different *sekretion* than the *kouratoria* in the Middle Period does not diminish the argument that the crown was seizing land and resources for itself. Rather, it helps provide a more nuanced view. As mentioned, the *episkepseis* were placed in good horse lands centred on important military sites. As such, they were used to provide strategically vital assets in the form of pack animals, and certainly support materiel, to the military and largely dealt with in-kind assets. In some aspects, the Cappadocian and eastern *episkepseis* replaced the *aplekta*. In contrast, the *kouratoria* extracted broader caches of wealth, with the particular component of coin levied through trade and taxes, ultimately to supply the coffers of the *genikon* through the imperial purse. The fact that the *episkepsis* seals reveal single territorial circumscriptions regardless of size, whereas the *kouratoria* often show multiple territories subsumed as a single governance – and there very provisionally also seems to be a correlation of the *basilikos* (a fiscal official) to the *kouratoria* – may offer further corroboration to the existence of a difference in the roles of the two estate types. At heart, this was an accounting manoeuvre that allowed more effective management of, and presumably extraction from, imperial holdings with different emphases; separate *sekreta* with different head officers created an inherent check to prevent an overly concentrated potential power base (abuse) in one official. It was also a tactic of control that harkened to Late Antiquity. Both *sekreta* served the will of the emperor and provided substantial amounts of vital assets upon which the martial and civil branches depended. If these deductions are correct, then the seals provide further insight into what areas held specific interests to the state

and lend greater understanding to the nature of the local economies within Cappadocia and the environs.

The above discussion regarding *episkepsis* of Phrygia, Malagina, and Cappadocian territories such as Arabissos, Rodandos, and Podandos lead us to expect some for the largest themes in Cappadocia, namely Charsianon and Kappadokia, as well. However, no such seals are known. The existence of a seal of the *episkepsis* of the entire Armeniakon theme combined with the relatively meagre number of surviving seals for Charsianon and especially for Kappadokia suggests that such designations existed or were planned for the larger Cappadocian themes.⁷⁰ However, the paucity of evidence relegates such discussion as speculation amidst silence; no written sources help clarify the matter. But it is nevertheless clear that imperial interest in equids was substantial in Charsianon. The *protospatharios* John Salos(?) held the position of *chartouarios* of the *dromos* of Charsianon sometime in the tenth or eleventh century. Somewhat later, in the eleventh century, we find the notable Michael listed as the *chartouarios* of the *dromos* and of Charsianon. Michael was the nephew of the Patriarch Michael Keroularios and later became *logothete* of the *sekreta* (1090–1109); his particular social elevation and affiliation is suggestive of the importance Charsianon held in terms of providing pack animals.⁷¹ Both of these officials were charged with directorship of the imperial post, animal requisition (*angareia*) and maintenance, surveillance of foreigners, and upkeep of the roads; military supply also could fall under their pale. Thematic *chartouarioi* of the *dromos* also served in a fiscal and archival capacity as well.⁷² In many respects, they appear to have served the same general concerns as the *episkeptitai*: equids and military provision. The critical difference here is likely the broader legal jurisdiction, that is, the *chartouarioi* of the *dromos* extracted their resources from a general population or tax base rather than a specific imperial estate.

Charsianon also may have had an imperial stable situated in the theme for some time. The seal of Kakikos Aniotos designates him as the *megas komes* (great count) of the stables and *megas doux* (great duke) of Charsianon.⁷³ The date of this seal to 1072/3 is conspicuously soon after the battle of Mantzikert (1071), which resulted in the disastrous defeat of the Cappadocian emperor Romanos IV Diogenes, and thus raises the question of whether the unusual designation of *megas doux* of Charsianon was given in response to a dramatic change in the political situation of that area. To our knowledge, no other attestation of a *doux* of Charsianon exists, and the closest presiding military official in date was a *strategos* in the 1030s, indicated by the seal of John Xyleas.

But the office of count of the stables does not ring as so unusual or surprising due to the fact that Charsianon was generally good horse country and there were officials charged with levying pack animals in the theme. Since the office of the count of the stable was charged with requisitioning and provisioning the army with equids, feed, supplies, and so on, Kakikos may represent the logical evolution of the *dromos* in a theme with established horse rearing estates throughout the territory that now faced a largely unfettered external enemy as well as possibly a local populace outraged by the betrayal of their emperor and kinsman; assurance of obtaining vital pack animals from Charsianon might have required the assistance of a military presence.⁷⁴

From the above, it is evident that Cappadocian horse rearing was a vitally important element of the local economy. The animals were extremely valuable both in terms of cost and utility, and significant amounts of land had to be dedicated exclusively for their rearing. From thematic military requirements, it is clear that horses and mules were raised, apparently in the tens of thousands in Kappadokia and Charsianon by private individuals, and in the thousands in smaller themes with horse lands. The lands on which these equids were reared formed a significant prize over which state and provincial magnate vied. Indeed, horse rearing alone meant that Cappadocia possessed massive movable wealth that could be converted easily into cash or bartered. Horses could be driven to safety and kept from the clutches of enemy raiders and suffer relatively little from displacement. In these terms, Cappadocia was never a poor land.

Pastoralism and stocking

Although it is accepted that pastoralism was always a basic aspect of Byzantine Cappadocian livelihood, few scholars have observed that these flocks served foremost as sources of wool and fertiliser and only secondarily as suppliers of milk and meat.⁷⁵ Slaughter and milking of sheep and goats were clearly common and important, but the emphasis was on maintaining a renewable source of workable wool, fertiliser, and income through portable wealth. Indeed, the existence and context of pens suggest that flocks were brought to winter in the shelter of the settlements. Once the season had warmed, they conveniently could be sheared and the wool processed for home use, trade, or sale.

Domestic caprines are among the most efficient animals employed by humans. Both sheep and goats are exceptionally adaptable and hardy and thrive in ecological niches that horses and cows cannot

utilise. Archaeozoological evidence for the rearing of caprines comes from Çadır Höyük, where the remains of both animals are present in Byzantine levels.⁷⁶ In Byzantine Cappadocia, the principal kind of sheep may well have been the White Karaman breed or one of its ancestors, known to be indigenous to Anatolia and dominating the central plateau today. White Karaman are ideally adapted to the plateau, thriving under extreme climatic conditions and a poor feeding regimen.⁷⁷ They are fat-tailed sheep that produce good yields of milk, meat, and wool. Their wool is coarse, rendering it 'carpet wool' from which were produced the rugs and tapestries for which the region has been famous since antiquity. In addition, the land probably produced more common cloth items in the imperial *fabricae* noted below. Those producers whose flocks lay in the west may well have sold their clip to production centres in nearby Phrygia, which was also a major clothing supplier.⁷⁸

The most common species of goat in the region today is the Angora, and this was probably also true in Byzantine Cappadocia. Although it is often assumed that this species was introduced from central Asia only after the arrival of Turkish speakers, the Angora is indigenous to central Anatolia and was present there from at least 2400 BC.⁷⁹ The presence of the Angora in Cappadocia in Late Antiquity is attested by Timothy of Gaza, who noted the peculiarity of Cappadocian goats having 'wool' (rather than hair), of which they are shorn like sheep.⁸⁰ Angoras produce mohair, a fibre that remains one of the most prized raw materials in the world. Mohair produces a lustrous cloth that resists shrinking, creasing, and flame. It is silky to the touch and accepts dye extremely well. In addition, it has outstanding insulation properties and a wide range of uses, including clothing production and for carpets, ends to which it was no doubt put in Byzantine Cappadocia. In the nineteenth century, the newly industrialised European textile manufacturing industry discovered mohair, and its qualities drove an insatiable demand. At that time, the finest fleeces were said to belong to Cappadocian varieties, which produced both white and black Angora goats. Angoras can be sheared twice and produce 3–6 kg of hair each year. Some insight into the scale of the pre-industrial trade of Byzantine Cappadocia can be gleaned from the Ottoman era: at a time when the communities of central Anatolia are generally considered to have been in decline, the Angora trade was nevertheless substantial. In 1867, four million pounds (1.8 million kg) of mohair was exported to England from central Anatolia.⁸¹ The trade with England represented about 360,000 fleeces, a testament to the massive quantities of fibre the plateau was capable of producing using animal husbandry techniques unchanged

since antiquity. Cappadocia produced a range of cloth goods, including higher quality items. Diocletian's Price Edict noted that Cappadocian/Pontic carpets (or coverings) were fixed at 3000 *denarii*, a price 30-fold the cost of a *modios* of wheat and thus approximately the value of perhaps two middle Byzantine *nomismata*.

The Price Edict of Diocletian and the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (and the *Descriptio totius mundi*) indicate that Cappadocia was an important source during the third and fourth centuries of hides, carpets, felt, and fur clothing.⁸² Indeed, Gregory of Nazianzos indicates that textiles were produced in abundance by noting the popularity of Cappadocian linen so prized by the local wealthy, and Gregory of Nyssa mentions the locally made tunics.⁸³ The fact that Cappadocian clothes and textiles are found in the Price Edict, and continued to be noted by later sources, suggests that they were available in much of the Empire. The abundance of locally produced raw materials, primarily wool, mohair, and linen made Caesarea a premier cloth-making centre. The huge quantities of fibre, transport facilities, and pool of skilled fabric workers no doubt influenced the imperial government to establish the *gynaikeion* in the city, noted by Gregory of Nazianzos (Or. 43) and later attested in the fifth-century *Notitia Dignitatum*.⁸⁴ In the sixth century, cloth was one of the primary goods that the Divine House extracted from the region.⁸⁵

In all likelihood textiles were manufactured throughout the Cappadocian countryside in private homes and workshops. Factory production for the imperial bureaucracy and military and the notable export of textile goods further argue that the textile industry was intensive. It follows that the required raw materials and industries – tanning, spinning, and weaving – for such a large market were equally vast. These, in turn, could have been supplied only through considerable, widespread animal husbandry (and crop husbandry for linen), a point observed by Teja.⁸⁶ If Middle Period prices remained comparable to those of Late Antiquity, then the impetus to continue these industries was significant: coarse yarns were valued between 72–250 *denarii* a pound, while a pound of the best yarns could cost 840–1200 *denarii* (ca 0.072–0.25 and 0.84–1.2 *nomismata*, respectively).⁸⁷ In such a light, the substantial flock sizes may have been common among Cappadocian sheep herders. Although the prices in the Price Edict cannot be considered accurate, when compared with basic staples such as a *modios* of wheat (100 *denarii*), it is obvious that wool was costly, relatively speaking.

Due to the relative expense of overland transport, inland regions were, in the pre-industrial period, limited in their capacity to export bulk goods. Cloth, however, had a relatively high value-to-bulk ratio

and therefore had long been an item of local and long-distance overland trade. Transport of finished woollens or bales of cloth from Cappadocia was relatively cheap and was facilitated by the extensive network of roads, while the movement of the animals for shearing or sale of meat, cheese, and milk was rendered relatively easy by their own mobility.⁸⁸

The number of sheep and goats possessed by the average Cappadocian shepherd cannot be stated with any certainty. However, the pens noted above at Ovaören and Filiktepe (mentioned in Chapter 1) suggest Cappadocian flocks often comprised hundreds. The available data show the average pen size is approximately 320 m² (mean = 300 m²). The density of one sheep or goat per square metre inside a pen is considered reasonable, based both on modern sheep-housing techniques as well as pre-industrial ones, so the average flock represented totalled 320.⁸⁹ Interestingly, a flock of 320 sheep or goats would have been worth slightly over an impressive 53 *nomismata*. Unfortunately, the number of sufficiently preserved pens is too small to allow such a sizeable average flock to be considered the norm without further evidence. Yet the fact that pen G4 at Ovaören may be attributed to a single household suggests that flocks may have been typically large; that juxtaposed pens were delineated argues that flocks were kept separate. In other words, these pens were not communal in function and therefore likely represent individual household flocks. Furthermore, the sites in which we find these pens do not appear to have been especially wealthy or otherwise unusual in terms of Cappadocian village settlement, and may be representative of moderately successful peasantry.

It also should be noted that at least one elite complex, and possibly others, seem to have associated pens. A possible pen is found attached to Area 23 at Akhisar.⁹⁰ It bears affinity to the pens at Ovaören and Filiktepe in that it is near the main entrance to the rock-cut complex and has a low foundation comprised of stones. The limited evidence precludes a secure identification of the function of this structure, and it may be the result of subsequent occupation, but it should be noted that this structure would represent the smallest pen currently known (area *ca* 27 m²) and thus suggest the putative flock was kept to meet household needs. Such a context agrees well with the elite centres Selime Kalesi and Saray at Erdemli, discussed in Chapter 6, in which are found evidence for household looms. Another pen, presently in use, is found near what may have been an elite estate *ca* 1 km west of Keşlik. The site is extremely damaged, but indications of the 'classic' elite plan discussed in Chapter 6 as indicative of elite centres was seen in 2001. Much of the stone work along the lower courses bears striking resemblance to that found at Ovaören, and later repairs are indicated by the presence of

discoloured rock predominating above the second course. The context therefore suggests a Byzantine origin for the pen, the 55 by 20 m dimensions of which imply a substantial flock of 1100. In light of the above, it may be suggested that all levels of society raised sheep/goats.

Although we have no contemporary evidence, some Cappadocians in the medieval period must have pursued the same semi-nomadic life attested in central and eastern Anatolia since antiquity. There is evidence of summer pasturage in the Pontic Mountains, and for centuries it has been common for those living on both sides of the Pontic range to bring their animals to the high pastures, over 1000 m in altitude, where grass abounds for grazing and haymaking and where the temperatures are more mild, allowing sheep, goats, horses, and cattle to gain condition more easily. The main routes of transhumance were north-south, either over the Pontic Mountains through the valleys that lay between Sebasteia in the east or *Aquae Saravenae* in the west. Other major transhumant routes lay to the south, across the Taurus. The road through the Cilician Gates via *Podandos* remains a major herding corridor today. Finally, the east-west migration into the high headwaters of the Euphrates, through the valleys that led into the mountains of Armenia, was also a heavily travelled pastoral route. Though it cannot be proved, based on the history and geography of the region, it is exceedingly likely that settled Cappadocians sent herds and flocks to summer pasture in this way, and that semi-nomads native to the region made their living doing so. Flocks moved along the transhumant corridors were typically larger than those maintained in the local pasturage around villages, and today typically number 300–500 animals.⁹¹

Seasonal migration of flocks had both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, animals were self-transporting commodities; before the onset of bad weather those in Pontos and Cilicia could be driven to the coast for shipment or slaughter. Removal of masses of animals shifted a considerable seasonal burden from the Cappadocian landscape, which its semi-arid conditions rendered fragile and prone to over-grazing and which the dry summer months in particular rendered vulnerable. In essence, by moving their herds Cappadocians could exceed the natural carrying capacity of their landscape by shifting massive demands for nutrients to (literally) greener pastures. Dangers from cattle thieves and bandits were obvious risks, and, like the Spanish mesa of the same time, the Cappadocian and eastern Anatolian countryside was witness to many a cattle raid. Arabs and Paulicians, and later Turkish raiders, posed a different kind of threat: summer campaigns aimed primarily at the movable plunder provided by humans and livestock. The regular razzias

have the complexion of great round-ups of slaves and cattle. Apart from the route through the Taurus to Cilicia, the seasonal movements offered some protection from these raids – herds could be spread out and driven through many different corridors, many far from enemy lands.

Alongside, and often indistinguishable from, seasonal pastoralism was sedentary stock rearing. The stables with niches or troughs and rock-cut rings found in many troglodytic settlements, including subterranean towns, bear striking similarity to the mangers in the early Byzantine Hawran used to hold stock or stall-fed animals, primarily cattle but also horses.⁹² Indeed, the tethering of cattle to their stalls was a well-known practice dating back into antiquity.⁹³ Like St Philaretos, who owned 100 pairs of oxen in addition to 600 cattle, Cappadocians needed numerous plough oxen to turn the earth that supported the extensive production of wheat and barley. At Çadır Höyük bovines dominate the archaeozoological record for the Byzantine era, and the sample, albeit limited, showed definite increases in cattle size over earlier eras and included some exceptionally large individuals (probably bulls).⁹⁴ It is likely that even poorer peasants owned a yoke of oxen. Draught cattle were ubiquitous; heavy transport was nearly always accomplished using ox-carts – the *dromos* required hundreds of bovids to move the heavy goods required by the state.

As mentioned above, the present evidence suggests only a few Cappadocian stables housed horses; the vast majority likely sheltered cattle, oxen, donkeys, mules, or – most likely – some mix thereof. Morphologically, there are no architectural features that may be attributed unequivocally to housing specific animals, with the possible exception discussed above for determining horse stables. Filiktepe is known to contain animal remains that may date to the Byzantine era, which when analysed may elucidate such matters greatly.⁹⁵ Towards that end archaeozoological enquiry (presently lacking) is of the greatest importance: not only can it elucidate what species of animals were reared, but also at what age animals they were slaughtered, which in turn reveals whether animals were being raised specifically for meat, traction (ploughing), or wool production, and so on. This line of investigation should be pursued in the future.

A sense of the fundamental role of stock animals is gained from the rudimentary decoration of monochromatic ochres (typically red) in many rock-cut churches depicting cattle and oxen; such decorations appear far more commonly than for horses or other equids.⁹⁶ This rustic art may further support the notion that the stables in Rocky Cappadocia generally contained more bovids than equids. The occasional preservation

of carved bulls decorating walls in elite complexes, for example the southern wall of the main hall (Room 1) at Açıık Saray 7 and the room next to the stable of Selime Kalesi, may as well.⁹⁷

The data for Ovaören, Filiktepe, Paşabağı, and Sivasa suggest that village households could possess a surprisingly large number of stock animals, with an average of 9 animals in each household stable. The range varied considerably, with an apparent low of 4 and high of 22 animals, for those sites preserving evidence. The affluence suggested by these stables was not meagre. The average price for a cow or ox appears to have been 3 or 4 *nomismata*.⁹⁸ Thus, even the smallest stable that we know, at Filiktepe A58, would have housed cows or oxen valued at 12 to 16 *nomismata* – a seemingly significant amount for a peasant family. The stable at the monastery Yusuf Koç, discussed below, probably accommodated 12 cows/oxen worth 36–48 *nomismata*.

Indeed, the rearing of stock animals probably held no less importance economically than did the rearing of sheep and goats. Many sites contain stables while pens are wanting, but no site containing a pen – with the possible exception of Akhisar Area 23 – lacks a stable.⁹⁹ As noted, in addition to their monetary value, cattle and oxen were important producers of traction and fertiliser, absolute necessities for cultivating large areas of arable. Stabling both animals was considered one of the best methods for producing high-quality fertiliser. The *Geoponika* states that farmers gathered the stubble after the harvest and threw it under the cattle (presumably in their stalls), who trod it and urinated on it, converting it into a kind of fertiliser.¹⁰⁰ It is almost certainly for the production of fertiliser that many Cappadocian stables have a channel in the floor located on the long centre axis with angled floors. Cattle also were sources of meat while oxen served as beasts of burden; both were sources of leather.

Similar to the case for goats and sheep, the available evidence is insufficient to state what proportions or numbers of specific stock animals were possessed by the aforementioned settlements. Yet the combined evidence does suggest that pastoralism and stock (particularly bovid) raising were commonplace, substantial, and practiced by all levels of Byzantine society. In fact, the picture presented by the archaeological data points to continuity from Late Antiquity.

Other animals

Other animals were also exploited and played an economic role. The *leporinam vestam* mentioned in *Expositio* indicates that the rabbit/hare

formed another important element of Cappadocian animal husbandry. The lack of archaeological evidence for such suggests that this animal either was hunted or penned in perishable materials such as wood. However, the small size and rapidity of reproduction made the rabbit/hare a relatively easy and inexhaustible resource that provided useful pelts and meat. Similarly, the doves discussed in Chapter 2 indicate that birds, especially pigeons, were highly prized not only for fertiliser, but also for their general hardiness and ability to reproduce rapidly. They produced high-quality meat and eggs, and did so with great efficiency. In many marginal landscapes that characterised Cappadocia, these traits ensured their widespread production. Quite literally, all one needed in Cappadocia was an accessible ledge or perch to ensure a source of fertiliser, meat, and eggs.

Scholars have rarely noticed the important role played by the camel in Anatolian transport. Since at least Late Antiquity, camels were common in the landscape of the region, and worked alongside the ox-carts and horses, donkeys, and mules in the transport of people and goods. In his assault on local plutocrats, Basil noted that they possessed ‘herds of camels, some bearing burdens, others at pasture’; today, although they are almost never used for transport in the Arab world, camels still remain high-value animals and are frequently pastured and used as collateral in business transactions – Basil’s passage makes one wonder if this was not also a fourth-century practice.¹⁰¹ Gregory of Nazianzos likewise noted the herds of camels in his native Cappadocia.¹⁰² As elsewhere in the empire, camel caravans had specialist drivers and camel-masters who moved the merchandise of pedlars and wealthy owners around the plateau.¹⁰³

Since the Arabian dromedary is not cold tolerant, while the two-humped Bactrian is, it seems probable that the latter variety flourished in Cappadocia. The Bactrian was famous throughout antiquity, noted by Aristotle and echoed in the works of Aelian, the fourth-century writings of Timothy of Gaza (32.15), and persisting in the *Geoponika* (16.22). Camels and dromedaries were prized for their wool, meat, milk, and transport capabilities – in this they far exceeded those of equids and oxen.¹⁰⁴

The fifth-century epitaph of a *kamelarios* (camel driver) by Ankyra (Ankara) confirms the utility of the camel for transport. The camel was sufficiently important that the *Taktika* of Leo VI discusses their role in warfare, and we see them mentioned later as pack animals for the army as well as specifically desired items of loot taken from Arab forces.¹⁰⁵ The Bactrian’s ability to traverse great distances between

watering holes, its overall endurance and strength, and its potentially off-putting odour that could repel horses made it an excellent mode of conveyance as well as military asset. They were probably corralled in much the same way that horses were, left to graze and supplemented in their diet.

Another little studied animal of considerable economic significance in late antique and Byzantine Cappadocia is the pig. During Late Antiquity, Basil noted herds of swine among the possessions of wealthy Cappadocians.¹⁰⁶ The *Geoponika* (19.6) noted that hogs needed protection from the cold and that they were thus kept in styes; during the hot summer months they would have likewise needed access to the shady coppices and marshy grounds in which to wallow, conditions that Rocky Cappadocia has in abundance. The primary diet of pigs was acorns (*Geop.* 19.6), which the scrubby oaky forests of *Quercus cerris* and other deciduous oak trees indicated in the pollen samples from Dark Age Cappadocia (noted above) could supply. In light of their mobility, prevalence in the Byzantine diet, and the added benefit of their abhorrence to Muslim raiders, who realistically cannot have targeted herds of swine as loot, it is reasonable to suppose that the Dark Age inhabitants relied more on pigs than they had prior to the seventh century. At Çadır Höyük pig bones comprise 18.7 percent of the Byzantine archaeozoological sample, a good initial indicator that swine remained a vital food source in the middle Byzantine era.¹⁰⁷ Their intensive exploitation at Çadır Höyük may indicate a return to intensive farming in the middle Byzantine period in which animals were fattened in stalls and fed from crops and domestic waste.¹⁰⁸ The *Book of the Eparch* (late ninth/early tenth c.) regulated pork butchers and demonstrates that pork remained a major feature of the Byzantine diet and pigs a commonly traded animal.¹⁰⁹

Thus, Cappadocian animal husbandry should be viewed not only in the agricultural context, but also in that of the industries which it supplied. Horses were integral to the Cappadocian landscape and so highly prized that they were synonymous with the region, and their rearing was an important feature of society. Stocking of sheep, goat, and cattle was effected in conjunction with, rather than in replacement of, arable farming, into which they were generally integrated. The products of these animals – milk, wool, meat, transport, traction, bone, hides, tallow, and fertiliser – as well as their ability to be driven to distant pastures and markets were invaluable. The geographical context of Cappadocia heightened the importance of clothing and textile manufacture, for cloth was one of the few light and portable goods produced

in the ancient and medieval world. In an environment abundant in wool and leather as well as donkeys, mules, and camels the production and sale of cloths and hides was not only practicable but ideal. The land-locked nature of Cappadocia rendered this consideration an essential one, but its place along the main routes of communication during Late Antiquity, and on the frontier in the medieval period, meant that the region enjoyed relatively consistent, strong demand for the products of its flocks and herds.

Part II

4

If One, Why So Many?

If solitaries why so many? And if so many, how
solitary? O crowd of solitaries who give lie to the
solitude!

Palladas¹

The poet Palladas could be forgiven for wondering how the solitary alternative of the monk had become a popular movement that saw the cities and countryside of Egypt filled with these renunciants. The early Christian movement has long interested western scholars, and it is therefore unsurprising that travellers to Cappadocia, encountering a desert landscape whose most prominent historical figures were the Cappadocian Church Fathers, viewed the place through the filter of religion. Early western accounts have moulded more current views that late antique and medieval Cappadocia was the preserve of Christian monasticism. The sense of otherworldliness of the place persisted into the modern period: when *Sieur* Paul Lucas visited the honeycombed cave dwellings that litter Rocky Cappadocia, he made an understandable, but wrong, assumption that these rock-cut dwellings represented the leavings of a universe of Byzantine monks who retreated to the harsh uplands to practise asceticism.² Until the 1990s, the view of Cappadocia (particularly Rocky Cappadocia) as an Anatolian holy land largely populated by monks remained essentially unchallenged.³ This image of Cappadocia as a Christian landscape should rather be modified to a landscape with Christians, as most of the rock-cut complexes were secular dwellings, normal abodes where in antiquity and the medieval period a considerable population spent a good deal of their lives. The image of Cappadocia that persists today and continues to be promoted

in tourism, that renders the region a second Bithynian Olympos or Mt Athos, should be discarded.

This is not the place for a full treatment of late antique and medieval monasticism, but a brief discussion of the origin, evolution, and practice of religiously inspired withdrawal is necessary in order to examine the place of monasticism within Cappadocia. Local peculiarities, including a particularly important place for dual male-female houses, developed from the Egyptian tradition and probably had a longer life in Cappadocia than elsewhere, in part due to the example of St Basil and his sister St Makrina.⁴ Further, there are no known Cappadocian monasteries situated with anything approaching the remoteness of St Catherine's or the Judaeian Desert monasteries and the textual and archaeological evidence seems to support the notion that while they were influenced by many Syrian Christian ideas, the Cappadocians generally rejected the largely solitary and extreme ascetic life found in the writings of Ephrem (*ca* 306–73), a contemporary of Basil and Theodoret of Kyrrhos (*ca* 393–457) and later Symeon the Stylite.⁵ It is notable that far from hosting communities that were withdrawn into the desert, Cappadocian monks, like many counterparts throughout Byzantium, lived in close proximity to secular settlements and thus their withdrawal was more spiritual than physical. In fact Cappadocian monasticism seems to have been overwhelmingly exercised in close conjunction with neighbouring settlements and the relationships with these secular centres were apparently symbiotic, and this is once again in contrast with many solitaries depicted in the early Christian ascetic movement in both Syria and Egypt. Equally importantly, the number of monasteries is certainly far smaller than previously supposed, and this should cause scholars to rethink not only the origin and function of many structures presumed to be monastic, but also help to recontextualise religious art and architecture in the region.

Early monasticism in Cappadocia

Sozomen wrote that Cappadocia, Galatia, and other regions in Asia Minor had been home to early Christian communities, and he supposed that monks and nuns naturally dwelt there from the start of the movement. Sozomen stresses, however, that the monks of these regions were coenobitic: the winters were too cold to survive without communal assistance, and thus holy people congregated together in villages and cities.⁶ Environmental factors, then, shaped the Cappadocian religious experience from the very beginning of Christianity.

As in Syria and elsewhere, there were conflicting views about how one could best renounce the flesh. According to the fourth-century ecclesiastical historian Sokrates, many of the women who joined the ascetic communities founded by Eustathios, bishop of Sebasteia (*ca* 300–77), had abandoned their husbands; some cut off their hair and adopted the dress of men, and some were accused of adultery. Eustathios dressed in the philosopher's robe rather than a monastic habit, and the monks and nuns who followed him fasted on Sunday and disregarded traditional church fasts. They furthermore encouraged slaves to abandon their masters, a clear subversion of Roman life. Equally worrisome to conventional society, these Eustathians despised marriage and recognised neither it nor married priests. These customs spread rapidly around Sebasteia in Cappadocia and eastern Anatolia, creating enough alarm that in 340 a synod at Gangra in Paphlagonia condemned them.⁷

Women maintained a prominent role in ascetic practice within early Christianity, with many vowing themselves to permanent virginity. Their place in Cappadocia was apparently equally important. At the end of his life, Origen took shelter in Caesarea in the home of the virgin Juliana. Basil remarked that women who lived as virgins were 'becoming ever more numerous'.⁸ In these instances we have allusion to 'domestic monasticism', where individuals lived in celibacy and chose a life of renunciation as their own beliefs, views of scripture, and Christian education from clerics guided them. Such informal monastic situations are difficult to find in the written sources and impossible to locate archaeologically, but they were commonplace, especially in the early history of the movement.⁹ The obvious importance of women in religious life in the Middle Period and post-Byzantine society is underscored by the numerous female burial inscriptions from churches of the ninth-thirteenth centuries – more than 24 of which are known.¹⁰

Women also influenced the establishment of more regulated forms of monastic life. St Anthony placed his sister with a group of Christian virgins, and St Pachomios oversaw a house for women ascetes founded by his sister Mary, one of two nunneries that he eventually held charge over. In Letter 173 Basil addressed the canoness Theodora, who lived in a religious community that included both men and women. Basil's sister Makrina (324–79) was a model ascete who attracted numerous followers and also highly influential on the ascetic practices and views of her bishop brother. On the family estate on the Iris River at Pontic Annisa (near modern Uluköy), Makrina founded a double-monastery in which men and women worshipped together in the same church but took meals and worked separately; women remained on one side of

the river and men on the other, and strangers would lodge with their respective sex. Men and women each had their own leader: Lampadion was in charge of the women and Peter, the younger brother of Basil and Makrina, headed the male group, while Makrina oversaw all. Some features that later became firmly entrenched in coenobitic monasticism were practiced at Annisa: the singing of psalms, recitation of scripture, extension of hospitality, ministry to the needy, and productive work were the core of the ascetic ideal there. Double monasticism that developed in this way was popular; Gregory of Nazianzos wrote to Leukadios and the 'monks and virgins' that were resident at Sannabodae, while John of Ephesus recorded the double-monastery founded in Palestine by Saint Susan. In 546 Justinian forbade double monasteries, but the practice was not finally suppressed until 810 when patriarch Nikephoros I closed them – a ban that lasted until the twelfth century.¹¹

After his experiences as ascetic at Annisa and as presbyter in the secular church at Caesarea, Basil wrote the first edition of the *Asketikon*, usually referred to as the *Longer Rules and Shorter Rules* (or *Responses*), providing an influential ethical framework for monasticism pursued by both men and women. These were not a series of formal regulations but rather guidance on specific points of behaviour and Christian praxis. The Byzantines developed no monastic orders as occurred in the West. Many monasteries were quite small, consisting of only a few brethren; five to ten monks seems to have been average over the duration of the empire. Monks and nuns followed the same practices and answered to an abbot or abbess (*hegoumenos/hegoumene*) and observed strict dietary, work, and worship regimens. In the *Asketikon* Basil gives some insight into what life was like in early Cappadocian monastic houses. As with the followers of Makrina at Annisa, in Basil's vision of the monastic life, men, women, and children lived in separate houses, but under the umbrella of one community devoted to the practice of Christian ethics. There were both male (*presbyter/proestos*) and female (*presbyteria/proestosa*) superiors. Though the male superior oversaw the women, he did so through his female counterpart and did not act in the women's quarter without her.¹²

Cappadocian religious austerity thus grew from varied experiences with the radical asceticism witnessed by Basil in Egypt and Palestine, and the subversive movement of Eustathios prevalent in the days of Basil's parents and his own youth. Ultimately, Cappadocian monasticism rejected the more revolutionary forms of Eustathian practice, even as it retained the ideal of a double-community of men and women living harmoniously and in celibacy side by side. Cappadocia also

rejected the torturous rigour of bodily suffering of the most extreme Syrian and Egyptian monks, such as that practiced by Markianos, who lived in a cistern and wore iron shackles weighing 250 lb.¹³ Piety and proper belief were instead to consist of prayer, fasting, and withdrawal from worldly cares – ethics enforced by fellow believers and one’s abbot or abbess. One critical feature of the monastic life as envisioned in the *Asketikon* was its engagement with the local community and church. Basil reinforced the notion that Cappadocian monks of Late Antiquity were connate with secular settlements and communal themselves. He argued that living among other monks was necessary to help take care of one’s bodily needs, to practice Christian charity, to discover one’s faults, remain humble, and avoid complacency.

Though the brothers and sisters of the community withdrew from the affections and concerns of the world, they dwelled near those of their former life. Unlike the remote monasteries of the Sinai or the Judaeen Desert, the Cappadocian style of monasticism implied a symbiosis of sorts. There, religious establishments lay near roads, villages, and towns. This was a world in which relatives and neighbours visited, strangers and travellers sought and received hospitality, and monks acted in harmony with the local church. This connection of religious house to the community is an important characteristic of Cappadocian monasticism that may be lost in light of the isolation of some Byzantine monasteries today. Ascetic houses were places of retreat, but also places of ministry, labour, and worship in the midst of the lay people of the region. For people in Byzantine Cappadocia, monasteries were naturally enmeshed in the landscape of town, village, and field. Monks and nuns were a common sight at work and in religious service, and an elemental part of local identity. In this way Basil’s ideal of the monk and nun as perfect witnesses, living an exemplary life to those who remained in the secular realm, was fully realised. This model, of a moderate life of retreat without abandonment and engagement without integration, became a paradigm for Byzantine monasticism as pursued in Constantinople and other imperial cities.¹⁴

Church and state also sought to govern the practical and material life of the monasteries. Justinian (527–65) issued comprehensive civil laws regulating monasteries and stressed that the ascetic life was to be pursued in coenobitic foundations governed by an abbot (*hegoumenos*), and that monks were to sleep in one room (coenobium). The emperor moreover regulated the initiation process, decreed that individuals had to abandon personal property, and ruled that monasteries were subject, in certain instances, to civil authorities. Justinian repeated Marcion’s

requirement that a bishop approve any new foundation – a clear indication that the law was being ignored – and further specified that monasteries should have a sufficient endowment to support the costs of lighting, building maintenance, and the material needs of the members. Clearly, ascetes needed a means to support their existence, but their lives were to be lived according to the model of apostolic poverty depicted in the New Testament, a reality complicated by ownership of property. Since Justinian also decreed that immovable church property was inalienable, there was a distinct tendency for monasteries to acquire ever more land and wealth. Justinian's *Novel* 123 reaffirmed the rights of monasteries to hold property in common, though individual monks could not maintain or dispose of material possessions.¹⁵

From at least the fifth century, monasteries drew the interest of lay people ready to exploit their productive potential. Already at the Council of Chalcedon (in 451), canon 24 ordered that properly consecrated monasteries were to remain so perpetually, as was their property; they were not to be converted into lay residences, on pain of excommunication. Despite such strictures, the private takeover of religious foundations continued unabated: in canon 49 of the Quinisext Council (in Trullo) the bishops re-issued canon 24 of Chalcedon. Elite cooption of monastic property for secular benefit was thus a longstanding issue and one of considerable benefit to laypeople. Such practices were sufficiently widespread to be institutionalised eventually as *charistikion*, the evil abuse of which was decried vehemently by John V, bishop of Antioch (1106–ca 1134), who unsurprisingly blamed the Iconoclast emperors for its expansion.¹⁶

Added to the fray were competing interests of the temporal powers, such as the traditional treatment of private foundations as personal, tax-advantaged property for magnates or resources for imperial coffers and budgets. Throughout its history, the Byzantine state claimed authority to regulate the ascetes and their property; monks were all vulnerable to an imperial levy when demanded, could be subject to taxes such as the *kapnika* unexpectedly, or forced to serve labour requirements (*angareia*), and monasteries could even become garrisons.¹⁷ And it is clear that no matter the law, imperial whim, special interests, and avaricious inclinations trumped. Despite all the vacillations, the foundation of monasteries never ceased but rather just changed in velocity; the ban of Nikephoros Phokas in 964/5 of new foundations was repealed before it could gain full traction.¹⁸ The concern of Nikephoros, as Justinian centuries earlier, was the impoverished and derelict state of existing houses; to the pious emperor, their condition made it seem like

an affront to found *de novo* institutions. Culturally, in which personal salvation was often tied to works and intercession, such a measure was doomed. The emperor Basil II, who repealed Nikephoros' ban on new foundations, did, however, proscribe religious houses where peasants built a church and retired to a monastic life.¹⁹ In these instances the farmers were joined by fellow rustics and, upon the death of the original inhabitants, the property was taken over by the local church and turned into a monastery. Since ecclesiastical land was inalienable, productive peasant agrarian lands were shrinking. By the reign of Isaac I Komnenos (1057–9), the emperor characterised many houses as holding vast properties, exempt from taxation, and above the law.²⁰

Though the emperors were most concerned with the material affairs of coenobitic establishments, other forms of monastic pursuit independent of the Basilian paradigm also arose. Imperial legislation in particular sought to clarify the definition of a monastery and its rights and obligations. The results were largely inconsistent when looked at over time, and so what constituted a monastery in one period might not in another. Population requirements, for example, fluctuated substantially, reaching a minimum under Leo VI of three.²¹ Considering that there were two general forms of Byzantine monastic practice, the *coenobium*, a permanent settlement of monks in a communal setting, and the *lavra*, an association of scattered solitaries who typically convened only at specific times at a certain church and kitchen, issues of member populations could become extremely tenuous. The nominal controlling status of monasteries and tax regulation also varied. The *De Administrando Imperio* (52.8–10) reveals six different categories of monastery in the tenth century: imperial, patriarchal, archiepiscopal, metropolitan, episcopal and independent. In addition to coenobitic and eremitic monks or anchorites, there were *lavriotai* (monks who lived in caves or cells but who came together for services), wandering monks, and, especially at the end of the Byzantine era, idiorrhhythmic monks, who lived in cells but took meals privately and were allowed to own property and eat meat.²² The extent of these practices in Cappadocia is unknown. Despite being condemned by some quarters of the church, the sustained popularity of idiorrhhythmic monasticism that persisted from the fifth century through the Palaiologans underscores the tension between the perceived need for communally enforced ascetic rigour and the desire for individual independence. Since he or she could not be easily managed by clerical authorities, the holy man or woman was an unstable element within the matrix of Byzantine society. Many solitary saints of Late Antiquity such as Theodore of Sykeon, St Nicholas,

or St Symeon loomed large in the minds of the faithful and were thus powerful free agents whose popularity threatened the regular church and state alike. A famous case is that of St Daniel the Stylite (*ca* 409–93), a disciple of the north Syrian Symeon the Elder.²³ Daniel established himself in a derelict church just outside Constantinople, where he defied the demons who haunted the church and became too popular to brook interference from the regular clergy in charge of the sanctuary.

The church frequently struggled to limit the mendicant monks who ranged throughout the empire and potentially undermined its authority. Monks sometimes obstructed the civil administration, and holy men dispensed justice that interfered with the state courts or provided an alternative to them. As early as 380, the emperor Theodosios I ordered monks to stay away from cities and to live in deserted areas, and Marcian (450–7) prohibited any new monastic foundation that did not first receive the approval of the bishop. In 451 the bishops gathered in the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon went further, assigning all clerics and monks without exception to a specific religious establishment and placing all under the supervision of their local bishop. Through an extensive list of canons, Chalcedon carefully regulated clerics and ascetics who were potent and sometimes violent actors in the Christological controversies that shook the empire during the fifth and sixth centuries. These pronouncements again enjoined monks to spend their time in prayer and fasting and to avoid visiting the city except in extreme need. Slaves who fled to monasteries were forbidden to be received in the community – another attempt to stop ascetics from undermining secular society.²⁴

At the Quinisext Council, held in 692 in Constantinople, the church attacked peripatetic monks anew. Canon 42 ordered wandering hermits – described as wearing long hair and black robes – to cease their rambles and be confined to a monastery; those who refused were to be prohibited from contact with others and restricted to the wilderness. The physical characteristics of these wanderers, with their flowing beards and manes, set them apart from coenobitic monks and emulated their late antique heroes who defied priest and emperor alike. The prohibition on travelling monks underscores the concern of religious authorities across the empire to restrict monasticism to the coenobitic life. The Quinisext regulations followed a period of sustained ecclesiastic and imperial involvement where church and state negotiated the nature and role of monasticism within Byzantine society. These measures were somewhat effective; the holy men of the medieval period were principally coenobitic monks, like Theodore of Studion (759–826), who was lionised

for his resistance to Iconoclasm. But hermits continued to appear in Byzantine life, although the ‘pole-sitting saints’ are only evidenced in Cappadocia in the middle Byzantine era when the stylites Niketas and Symeon were active.²⁵

Cappadocian stylites

At one point or another, some portion of the myriad caves in Cappadocia surely housed members of the more solitary persuasions of monasticism. It is easy to envisage the anchorites and hermits dwelling in seclusion, surrounded only by their pious thoughts and small gardens, nourishing their souls while depriving their bodies. But since these ascetes have left no traces presently recognised in the material record, we must suppose that they were neither more nor less numerous than elsewhere within the empire. Yet of all the types of asceticism that pervaded Byzantium, the geography of Cappadocia – particularly Rocky Cappadocia – lent itself better than anywhere else to that of the stylite. After St Symeon Stylites the Elder climbed atop his pillar in 423 near Aleppo – an aerie he perched upon for 37 years – the practice of standing atop a column soon became another recognised form of ascetic practice that attracted numerous imitators.²⁶ Indeed, stylites were encountered often throughout the Levant during the following century and never completely vanished from Byzantium. But no matter how lofty the aspiration and dedicated the body, the elements and individuality play their role too.

Where St Symeon had a small platform upon which to endure, others had small huts. In some cases, the pillars were hollow and the ascetics dwelt within. Indeed, the stone projections in Cappadocia – often called fairy chimneys or cones – seem divinely crafted for the stylite. Yet despite the fine geography, the stylite seemingly took some four centuries to appear in Cappadocia, or at least to leave a detectable sign, and was a rather rare occurrence. When stylites did appear, the bitter winters forced them to forsake the outdoor existence pursued by famous pillar ascetes and instead exercise their faith in more sheltered situations. Thus, Cappadocian pillar saints once again reflect the peculiarities of local climate and geology that helped shape all monastic experience. A rock cone was chosen that was relatively devoid of others nearby. In Rocky Cappadocia this meant a distance of a few tens of metres or less away from any other major cone. Then a dwelling place was carved, essential to withstand the otherwise deadly winters, into the cone. At the base was excavated a church and burial site. Only two stylite ‘columns’ survive in Cappadocia, that of the Stylite Niketas (Kızıl Çukur) and of Symeon (by Zelve). The former is earlier and instructive.²⁷

The church of the Stylite Niketas is small, originally measuring only about 8 m from the facade to the end of the apse and just over 2 m at the widest point; later expansion doubled the width, likely to provide more room for the large arcossolium (an arched recessed entombment) on the left (northeastern) side. The excavation is well executed, although generally plain – there are no cornices or pilasters, for example. The aniconic portions of the painted decoration, comprising much of the first phase, represent an artistic style or tradition too conservative to be diagnostic, and the figures portrayed are in a rather square or ‘blocky’ style that does not bear many similarities to tenth- or eleventh-century examples in the region; the same may be said for the variegated palette seen in this church. Indeed, the painted decoration of the church does not lend itself to easy comparison with any other that comes to mind. Among the saints and angels depicted stands either Euthymios the Younger (d. 898) or Euthymios the Great (d. 473), the former a stylite and the latter a renown ascete who was born in Melitene and lived much of his life in a cave; either saint would be appropriate to this milieu. The archetypal stylite St Symeon on his pillar is also shown. The decorative motif of pillar saints is confirmed in an inscription that calls for the salvation of a certain Niketas, the stylite and ascetic of this site. Niketas apparently obtained elite favour in his lifetime; on this phase of painted decoration preserves a donor inscription naming Eustratios, *kleisourarch* of Zeugos and Klados. The toponym Zeugos is the critical element in dating the site. The epic *Digenis Akritis* mentions a *Zugos* or *Zigos* in the Antitaurus, but the Zeugos in the inscription refers more specifically to the *Zigon Basilikon* across the Antitaurus Mountains (about 110 km east of Kayseri and 170 km from this church). Honigmann localised the place, for which we possess a seal bearing the designation *Zygos*.²⁸ If correct, the *kleisourarchy* (otherwise unknown in our sources) was formed after the elevation of Charsianon to a theme around 863–73: the Antitaurus then formed the frontier until about 934 when Melitene was brought back into Byzantine control.²⁹ Klados is unknown, but likely was contiguous or near to Zeugos. Furthermore, the first phase of decoration and inscriptions underlie an eleventh-century phase of painted decoration as well as donor inscriptions probably dating sometime in the tenth century. Thus, the site probably started after the mid-ninth century with our ascetic Niketas assuming his role of stylite. During the course of time, his reputation reached a level such that it attracted the attention – and money – of Eustratios the *kleisourarch* from his remote command, probably in the last quarter of the ninth century or very early in the tenth.³⁰

There is no question that Niketas the Stylite was an important local holy figure. The better quality of decoration (compared to other ninth-century local examples) provided by the *kleisourarch*, who himself donated from some distance, underscores the holy man's notoriety. The site continued to garner support throughout the tenth century, whence we find the funeral invocation of a certain Constantine Phalkon in the same hand as an invocative inscription by the monk Nikolaos Phalkon. Presumably, Nikolaos was brother or son of Constantine and arranged the burial of the latter. The lack of title or office for Constantine suggests a private individual from a family of means who donated to this church, and the Phalkon family probably was of some status and wealth accrued or maintained without the benefit of imperial service or title. Niketas' draw endured into the eleventh century, when the church attracted the patronage of yet another – an unknown female donor.³¹ The church of Niketas also preserves one of the largest corpuses of Byzantine graffiti in Cappadocia, such that numerous examples exist for probably every century since its inception; the quantity obscures any effort to unravel the names or date them.

What happened to our Niketas? It seems that he never achieved formal sainthood, and there is no *vita* that we know of accounting his heroic deeds. Though his church decoration preserves a place for an epitaph, the space is bare. So, Niketas was likely alive when the church was first painted. Probably he either died at the site but had no followers to complete his burial inscription or he moved elsewhere; the arcosolium (an arched tomb recess) in the narthex may have been for him or someone such as Eustratios the donor. Whatever the fate of Niketas, the space that he sanctified maintained a powerful pull on the Cappadocian community and the Church of Niketas endured as a pilgrimage spot for centuries.

Indeed, the importance of Niketas the Stylite may explain the existence of the only other extant stylite site in Cappadocia, that of Symeon.³² Inscriptions identify the denizen of this 'column' as Symeon, monk and stylite, which are emphasised by the depiction of the famous St Symeon the Stylite cycle (with whom our Cappadocian Symeon is not to be confused). Although the painted decoration is badly damaged, the rendering and composition parallel Göreme Chapels 1 and 6, Ayvalı Kilise at Güllü Dere, and the Church of the Holy Apostles at Sinasos. Chapels 1 and 6 date to the early tenth century, and Ayvalı Kilise and the Church of the Holy Apostles belong to the same workshop dated by inscription to 913–20; the Church of St Symeon the Stylite therefore dates to the first quarter of the tenth century. Although he appeared

somewhat later than Niketas, the Cappadocian Symeon too gained some renown; subsequent decoration and several arcosolia reveal the continued patronage through the tenth and eleventh centuries at least. And there are extant invocations to Symeon to watch over a priest Theophanes and a certain monk Mares, the latter inscription located in the associated tomb church.³³ Despite the modest size of Niketas' and Symeon's respective sites, they had some lingering fame; not all such sanctuaries could say the same.

The remains at Karabaş Kilise at Soğanlı Dere (ancient Soandus) tell a story that was likely repeated throughout the region.³⁴ Around the beginning of the tenth century, a monk named Roustiakos excavated his church. He probably started as an anchorite, dwelling in a cave nearby. Eventually, however, he attracted a small group of monks, which required the addition of a side chapel and two more crudely carved rooms. As time passed, in the first quarter of the tenth century, the later coterie of monks attracted the patronage of a certain Kosmas and his wife.³⁵ How the then-presiding abbot Bathystrokos was affiliated with Kosmas and spouse is unknown, but the donation provided for modification of the southern-most chamber into a tomb and the other room into a crude chapel; polychrome decoration for the entire complex of four chambers was also provided. The occasion of the donation may well have been the deaths that year of three monks, Photios, Bardas, and Zacharias; all three were commemorated simultaneously in the decoration that Kosmas donated. The epitaph of abbot Bathystrokos was also started, memorialising his hard work for this church and announcing that his body lay here, but unlike the others the date was left incomplete awaiting his demise. The intrepid abbot either moved on or passed away alone with no one to finish his obituary. For whatever reason, the small monastic community at Karabaş Kilise never managed to attract further sponsorship or sufficient donations to keep it going, and it languished for quite some time derelict.

Eventually the elite Skepides family acquired the site to serve as an estate; they expanded it substantially as well as redecorated. Although the complex has been heavily damaged and portions are inaccessible, it is clear the Skepides added at least one main hall and two other chambers. Also, the high quality polychrome decoration preserves a dated inscription of 1060/1, substantiating the century hiatus between occupations suggested by the erosion that transpired from the time of the initial church excavation to that of the Skepides' main hall. The Skepides chose the site of Karabaş Kilise probably in part because of its excellent location in an expanding settlement area. But the history

of monastic inhabitants must also have struck a chord. In the painted decoration we see not only the principal donor the *protospatharios* Michael Skepides and his family but also his father Nyphon, mother Eudokia, sister Catherine, and brother Basileios.³⁶ Nyphon is listed as a monk, Catherine a nun, and Basileios a priest. Eudokia lacks a religious designation, but is the founder of the nearby church Çanavar that celebrates Catherine's becoming a nun.³⁷

Cappadocian monasteries

Cappadocia was an ancient centre of Christianity and probably home to monks and nuns from the third century, but was it the epicentre of eastern monasticism as some early modern travellers believed and more recent scholars still do? No doubt influenced by the impressive figures of the Cappadocian Fathers and the otherworldly quality of the environment, Frenchman *Sieur* Paul Lucas imagined during his first visit to the area in the opening years of the eighteenth century that Cappadocia was a holy land filled with caves burrowed by ascetic champions of the Christian faith. Subsequent travellers upheld the notion of Cappadocia as a monastic realm. The words of Texier and Pullan, in their early book on Byzantine architecture, remain representative of many travellers and scholars:

One glance at the retreats where coenobites of Cappadocia lived will afford some idea of the rigorous [*sic*] of the ascetic life – which was a complete mortification of the most imperious wants of life, showing to what an extent a firm will can subdue nature.... In every direction they endeavoured to find inaccessible retreats, which abounded in no country to such an extent as in Cappadocia ... [Cappadocia] is barren and savage in the extreme.³⁸

Lately, scholars have begun to contest the notion that monasteries are ubiquitous among the rock-cut complexes, and this is a much-needed corrective. But what did Cappadocian monasteries look like? In addition to the evidence from the law of Basil II, in which a group of peasants joined together in a kind of informal religious house surrounding a chapel, one might think that a church would be a minimum requirement. Although this is largely true for the period of mature monasticism from the eighth century on, it is shocking that many late antique monasteries did not even possess a chapel; in *Novel* 133 Justinian ordered monks not to use the lack of a chapel as an excuse to wander about.

As we have noted, the congregation of monks did not simply denote the existence of a monastery in the strict sense. Theoretically – and sometimes in practice – monasticism was ultimately under the control of the episcopate by having *hegoumenoi* approved by and answerable to the bishops, but the reality was far more polythetic. Concepts such as domestic monasticism, small ascetic confraternities, and private foundations created an intricate landscape. And priests and bishops were highly mobile, sometimes leaving their current posts to assume the life of an ascetic, monk, or wandering religious. However, tradition and eventually law did provide two rather consistent traits that can be used to differentiate a monastery from any other form of monastic assembly regardless of time: the foundation document and the endowment. These foundation documents play a key role in our identifying and understanding monastic houses throughout the middle and late empire. The foundation document, most commonly called the *typikon* (pl. *typika*) or *diataxis*, usually detailed the regimen of daily life, and often included provisions for management and control of the institution. The endowment (*moira*, *ousia*, *prosodon*, or *autourgion*) usually comprised land or other real assets to sustain the institution; theoretically these holdings were inalienable once endowed. Some form of both the *typikon* and the endowment can be traced to the earliest roots of monasticism the late fourth century and remained in practice until the end of Byzantium, regardless of imperial or ecclesiastic mandates and whims. Thus, for purposes of clarification, the term monastery for our discussion refers to institutions that probably had both a foundation document and endowment.³⁹

Unfortunately, there are no extant Cappadocian *typika*, and after the fourth-century Cappadocian Fathers, virtually no documents of any kind to inform us of medieval Cappadocian monasteries other than occasional mentions, like that of the foundation of the Monastery of St Elisabeth somewhere in Charsianon by Leo Argyros for his burial.⁴⁰ Furthermore, there was no established, generic scheme for built eastern monastic foundations, including Asia Minor, and so we have no immediately obvious way of detecting monasteries within the region.⁴¹ But it is possible to use the extant Byzantine *typika* to assess features common to Byzantine monasteries, and thus to those in Cappadocia. With a mind towards architecture, two features are notable: the church (or chapel) and the refectory with common table (*trapeza*). For ease of discussion, mention of a refectory should be understood here to include a common table unless otherwise stated. The existence of a church or chapel is to be expected in the monastic context, but since these

structures were ubiquitous, they cannot themselves provide definitive material proof of monasteries. The refectory, however, is more particular of religious communal life. All 35 extant foundation documents that discuss daily life indicate the presence of a refectory, and four other monasteries whose foundation documents neglect any description of life there preserve archaeological evidence of refectories.⁴²

Despite the limited number of surviving documents, it is likely that the majority of *typika* from *ca* the ninth through eleventh centuries – and thus the monasteries themselves – contained some form of church and refectory, for the *typika* of Stoudios (842) and Evergetis (1054–70) contain both items: the *typikon* of Stoudios was the most important and widely influential one until that of the Evergetis.⁴³ There is certainly some risk in using criteria established from regions outside Cappadocia to identify monasteries there, but the risk appears slight, since the extant *typika* (1) range from private to imperial foundations; (2) are scattered over a broad swath of Byzantium; (3) span several centuries; and yet (4) still share the common features of church and refectory. As there was no formal floor plan for Byzantine monasteries, there was also no universal layout for a refectory: it could be of nearly any shape and size. Although Mylonas notes specific layouts for the refectories of Mt Athos, the unusual nature of that entire site and its close imperial associations suggest that Athonite monasteries cannot be considered the norm for monastic design. Nevertheless, all refectories there contained a designated place where the *hegoumenos* presided or a reader was stationed, usually an apse.⁴⁴

There are no known examples of built monasteries extant within the archaeological record of Cappadocia. They have succumbed to time and predation like most of the built Byzantine structures in the region, and were probably the target of destructive pogroms under subsequently hostile religious environments as well. Thus, the best chance of finding monasteries in the area is Rocky Cappadocia, where indeed many have been discovered. But unfortunately numerous others have been incorrectly identified. Most commonly the erroneous attributions have been based solely on the presence of a church and random cavities somewhere nearby, which are presumed to be the *kellia* in which monks were known to reside in lavra-style monasteries. The critical issue remains the refectory, since both the lavra and coenobitic styles seem to have required them. In addition to an apse, a refectory contained either a long table or several smaller tables called *sigmata*, which were stored in special niches in the refectory when not needed and could be made of wood. The possibility of moveable tables has led to the identification

of sites with halls or large rooms as monasteries. Yet the halls of many of these complexes do not meet the requirements of a monastic refectory, namely a specially designated place for the abbot or reader. Several halls contain niches at one end, but typically they are merely small or shallow shelves. Instead of a recess others have a small chamber, which would have obscured rather than highlighted the *hegoumenos* or reader as well as dislocated him from the putative table. Others lack recesses entirely, while Açıık Saray 2 has a cross-in-square hall containing several architectural features that would hinder communal eating.⁴⁵ The use of *sigmata* also is unlikely in these complexes, for there are no architectural features suitable to store this type of table present in the majority of the halls wanting tables. As discussed in Chapter 6, these sites wanting refectories are actually elite complexes.

For a refectory, the rock or masonry table seems to have been the choice preferred over the moveable *sigmata* – it certainly was more conducive to communal eating for groups numbering over three or four – and the logical choice for rock-cut monasteries. The only rock-cut monastery with an extant *typikon* is the Hermitage of St Neophytos on Cyprus.⁴⁶ St Neophytos is securely identified as a monastery and known to have been constructed 1159–83.⁴⁷ It possesses a refectory, but with a modern masonry table and no apse. However, the refectory area experienced erosion that required a built wall to repair the damage, and there are subsequent phases of modification and decoration. The repair work overlaps where the wanting apse for the *hegoumenos* or reader is expected, and if the initial rock wall collapsed inwards, as seems the case, then it is likely the table needed to be replaced as well. Other rock-cut monasteries are found further abroad, such as the three Georgian examples: Bertubani, Udabno, and Vardzia. All three belong to the mid-eleventh to early thirteenth centuries and are identified by written sources; each contains a refectory with rock-cut table(s).⁴⁸ This is also true of the rock-cut Arbotin Monastery in Bulgaria, which today has a refectory and rock-cut benches along two of its sides and had a rock *trapeza*.⁴⁹

Indeed, the critical identifying element for Cappadocian rock-cut monasteries is the rock-cut table, which has been found in several Cappadocian complexes (see below). Although their sizes vary, each table is associated with an apse-like recess in the room or a specially demarcated chair that agrees with the context discussed above for the *hegoumenos* or reader. Where found, these tables and their associated, specific designs indicate the presence of refectories and thus monasteries. As seen below, rock-cut tables are found in monasteries covering

the spectrum from wealthier to poorer foundations, spanning from perhaps as early as the seventh century through the eleventh. On this evidence it seems clear that stone tables were preferred over wooden ones, regardless of the socio-economic status of the monastery and the period of time in which they were excavated.

In terms of function and practicality, rock-cut tables are the obvious choice for a rock-cut monastery. That is, the refectory was dedicated to communal eating; the sources do not indicate any other standard purpose for this room. Although the *typika* often mention prayers and the liturgy conducted in the refectory, this seems to have been done during meals, and the habit of St Lazaros the Galesiote, who slept on a straw mattress in the refectory, was an exceptional action and thus the reason it is noted in his *Life*. As such, the use of a rock-cut table offers clear advantages. It is more durable than a wooden one, and perhaps less expensive in a region largely devoid of timber. Further support lies in the preference for rock-cut features, normally found elsewhere in wood or other materials, in many modest Cappadocian Byzantine dwellings. These include chairs in churches or stone beds and benches, seen in Soğanlı Dere, Kızıl Çukur, Keşlik, and other sites. As seen below, when a monastery grew in members, the employment of rock-cut tables still was preferred, probably indicating their cheapness and their particular appeal to Cappadocian sensibilities. The monastery Çanlı Kilise Area 17 shows the addition of an extra rock-cut table rather than the use of moveable ones.⁵⁰

Thus, only those Cappadocian rock-cut complexes containing refectories were monasteries, and there is a noted preference for rock-cut tables regardless of the apparent wealth or date of the foundation. Extra rock-cut tables, sometimes requiring the excavation of additional rooms, were added when needed. And every Cappadocian site containing a rock-cut table has an associated church, while many sites wanting a table also lack a church. The trend is consistent, conservative, and highly suggestive.⁵¹

Refectory monasteries

When monasteries first appear in the archaeological record of Rocky Cappadocia, it is evident that the Basilian ideal of integration and community ministry was kept to heart. All 14 extant monasteries, plus three possible others, were either located in a village or near one, and consequently they lay by roads or other major thoroughfares. Without exception, they were easily accessible to local communities or travellers. The spiritual ideal of early Cappadocian monasticism, however, did not

dictate the nature of monasteries; they could be of any category, for example metropolitan or private, and incepted for a variety of reasons and served a multitude of functions.

The tenth-century monastery called Area 17 at Çanlı Kilise (Akhisar) looks to have been a form of *metochion* – or rather the essentially identical arrangement but with lay overseers (*pronoetai*) – with the constituent monks called *metochiaroi*. The *metochion* was commonly a subsidiary monastery tasked with providing surplus for its parent.⁵² Area 17 was set in what can only be called an upper-class village, populated almost exclusively by country estates of some means, a sign that the environs were productive. The monastery includes a church, refectory, miscellaneous rooms, dwelling areas, and was equipped with dovecotes and more substantial storage facilities than normally observed in Cappadocian monastic complexes – a veritable hallmark for a *metochion*, fulfilling its purpose of surplus production. The location and design reveal that the complex was both an integrated and active component of the settlement, and over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries eventually required expansion to accommodate more monks and more stores. Economic success of the monastery preceded the expansion of monks: modifications to the southern portion of the site into storage areas appear to have been completed, whereas the second refectory was never finished. How and when the monastery ceased is unknown, but likely corresponded with the demise of the overall village. Indeed, the context of Area 17 to the rest of the settlement (discussed below) suggests that the *pronoetai* were also tied to those who dwelt in the elite centres.⁵³

Keepers of the dead

Near the town of Avcılar is another rare occurrence of a Cappadocian monastery with two *trapezas*, called Yusuf Koç after its church.⁵⁴ But the *trapezas* at Yusuf Koç are located in the same room (Figure 4.1) and reflect a common medieval Byzantine practice in which the community was stratified, with literate brothers who sang the daily offices and illiterate peasants (*paroikoi*) or novice monks responsible for manual labour.⁵⁵ The two tables present in the refectory are aligned in a broken L-shape, one table intentionally cut shorter than the other; the longer table accommodated the lower monks, and the shorter table held exclusively the higher-ranking ones. The chambers of this monastery are better cut – more square with flatter ceilings and impressive yet simple facade work – than most other rock-cut monasteries in the region. There is some uncertainty about the exact layout for this complex, as it may

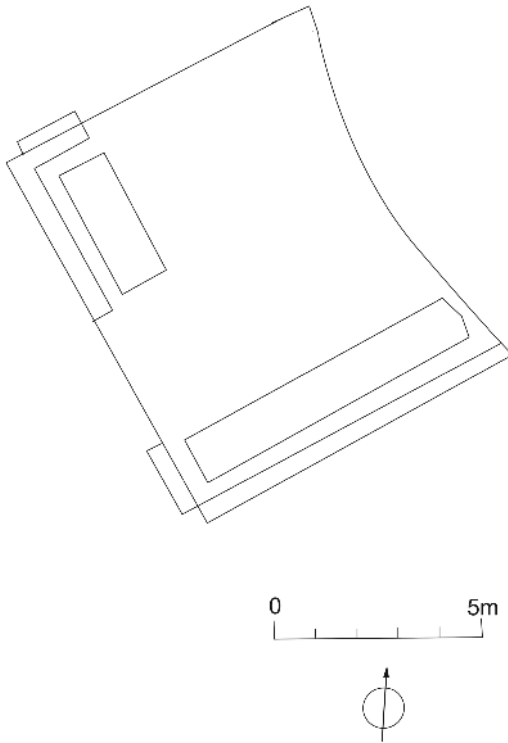


Figure 4.1 Yusuf Koç refectory

extend to other cones, and some chambers at the main site have been converted into pigeon houses and are now inaccessible. There is also a stable, now half-destroyed, that had mangers for probably ten animals.

The damaged church is a double inscribed-cross plan that preserves painted decoration; it also contains an arcosolium. The dark palette (particularly for the background), rather elongated figures and crisp lines, depiction of the *Deesis* (enthroned Christ oft flanked by Mary and St John the Baptist), sense of a panelised presentation of much of the decoration, and so on certainly point to the eleventh century in general. The repertoire of ornamentation here provides a link to the mid-eleventh-century Column Group Churches (discussed below), and the dress of the donor in the Annunciation panel – brocade gown, pointed slippers, and turban-like headdress – bears affinity to eleventh-century donor depictions such as the aforementioned *protospatharios*

Michael Skepides in Karabaş Kilise (dated to 1060/1). Yusuf Koç thus dates to about the mid-eleventh century.⁵⁶

Three donor figures in the church survive to varying degrees. Two are certainly male, and are appointed as well-to-do laymen. The third figure is more intriguing, although heavily damaged. Where Grishin sees a figure bearing a beard, Rodley finds a woman wearing a veil.⁵⁷ Our efforts to clarify the matter have been largely unsuccessful – during our visits, yet more dirt obscured much of the figure's face that requires specialised techniques to restore. While the presence of a female donor would help to explain the unusual number of female saints depicted in the church, we might expect her to be depicted by a female saint rather than next to the military saint St Demetrios as is the case here. Ultimately, the sex of this third donor will probably be resolved only after careful cleaning and restoration. Nevertheless, there is little question that the donors of Yusuf Koç were relatively wealthy.

The purpose of this monastery may well have been to serve the needs of one or more of the depicted donors upon retirement into monasticism. More certain, however, is that the monastery was to serve the needs of the donors after death. The double inscribed-cross plan, with two domes and two apses, served a dual purpose: the northern portion for liturgical functions of the resident monks (and perhaps locals nearby), and the southern part for funerary functions and memorial prayers (*mnemosyna*). The depictions found in the northern and southern portions of the church are in keeping with normal liturgical and special funerary functions respectively. A tomb behind the southern apse adds support, as might the large arcosolium located south of the church.

The dual liturgical and memorial function of the church Yusuf Koç was not unique, and in fact reminds us of Geyikli Monastery at Soğanlı Dere (Figure 4.2).⁵⁸ Geyikli Monastery has a different overall arrangement, comprising a kitchen-*cum*-storeroom, a church, a subterranean level of unknown extent, and a refectory that contains the most elaborate and highest quality carved decoration of all Cappadocian refectories: registers of small horseshoe-arched blind niches, and sometimes double-recessed blind niches, run the entire length of the walls; faux engaged columns with arcuated lintels are used to highlight the *hegoumenos'* chair and other areas of importance. A treading floor for wine, which empties through a rock-cut channel into large holes for *pithoi*, is situated along the back right portion of the room. The back of the refectory has a small chamber-like structure that contains two rock-cut chairs facing each other and aligned perpendicularly to the long axis of the refectory and tables; it has the same carved decoration.

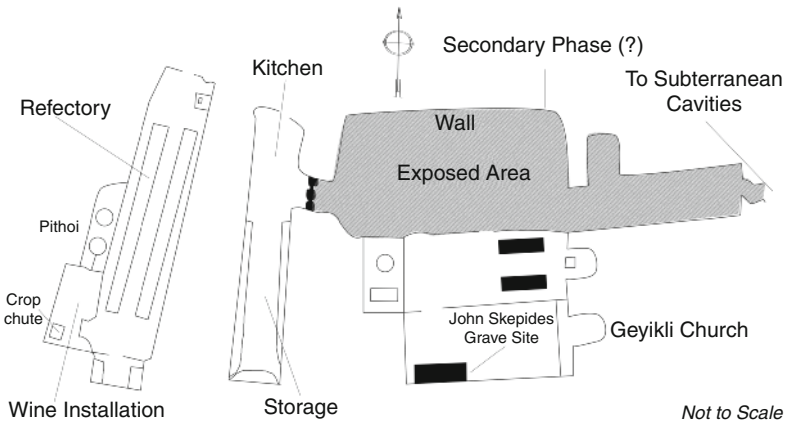


Figure 4.2 Geyikli Monastery

The function of this last chamber, however, is not readily apparent. The design of this complex suggests that it was not constituted of split-class monks like at Yusuf Koç.

But the church, Geyikli Kilise (also commonly called Gök Kilise), probably served dual purposes. It has two naves, which are more physically distinct from the somewhat haphazard execution at Yusuf Koç. The first (north) nave preserves fragments of painted decoration, including a scene with deer that gives this church its name. The palette of light blue, ochre-brown, and aqua-green is appropriate to an outdoor scene and of little aid in dating the painting. However, the folds in the mountains and the bends of the current in the water bear affinity to the way folds in clothing are depicted in mid-eleventh-century churches such as Karabaş Kilise, the Column Group, and certain members of the Yılanlı Group discussed below. Further similarity between these churches is seen in the portrayal of hair: deep comb lines (especially in the front), dark bold reinforcements (when depicting white hair), and often short triangular locks projecting partially down the forehead. These similarities argue for a date around the mid-eleventh-century, and make it somewhat contemporary to Yusuf Koç. Furthermore, carved decoration similar to that in the aforementioned refectory adorns Geyikli Kilise, which indicates that refectory and church are associated. This nave was probably intended for normal liturgical purposes, although the largely destroyed painted decoration can no longer offer any evidence. The relationship of two graves, which lack inscriptions, sited before the bema is unclear.

The second (south) nave contains a tall chancel screen bearing affinity to the type seen in the mid-eleventh-century Yılanlı Group churches at Göreme, and the presence of the title *hypatos* in the dedicatory inscription (see below) at any rate suggests a time after 1038 when it reappeared in use. The second nave, then, was excavated not long after the first. However, the only polychromatic decoration in the second nave apparently was confined to the donor panel, now practically obscured, under which lay the founder and his inscription, 'God, save your servant John Skepides, *hypatos, protospatharios epi tou Chrysotriklinou and strategos*'.⁵⁹ One suspects that John died before the completion of the decoration. The relatively high status of John helps explain the unusual presence of extensive carved decorations in chambers other than the church, as well as their high quality, and the notably better quality of excavation in general of this church compared to Yusuf Koç. The location is also telling: the monastery is situated in the only portion of the valley relatively free of rock-cut dwellings yet still able to benefit from the valley stream – the only apparent water source for this complex – but remained very close indeed to the village and a family centre. Geyikli Monastery served as a public reminder of John Skepides, and probably his retirement home where he had family nearby. More importantly, it was his resting place, which was charged with conducting his *mnemosyna*.⁶⁰

The foundation of monasteries specifically for *mnemosyna* may have been one of the more common reasons for founding an ex-urban monastery in Cappadocia, and examination of the monastery called Church of Pic 1223 helps offer additional insight to this phenomenon.⁶¹ Situated south of Zelve along the road to Ortahisar, the site has been damaged greatly by erosion, but the refectory clearly remains juxtaposed to the church; the context of many nearby cavities is unclear, owing to some secondary occupation and alteration. The church comprises two phases, each represented by the excavation of a church or nave. The first phase preserves a fragment of polychromatic painted decoration showing the bust of a bearded saint, which was done by the mid-tenth-century Theotokos Group, and so dates to that time. The second phase was excavated through the first deeper into the rock, and *de facto* postdates the first phase. The painted decoration of the second phase is entirely monochromatic red; architectural detailings cover the entire church: faux masonry, lintels, pendentives, mouldings, columns, and other decorations are done with exceptional detail. The effect achieved is remarkable, often presenting the illusion of built, three-dimensional architecture. The technical execution and extent of this style of decoration have no equal in the region. The remnants of an iconostasis that

cloistered the sanctuary – a feature found in churches dating from *ca* the end of the tenth century through the eleventh – combined with the fact that the rare free-cross form of the second phase church finds parallels in late ninth- through mid tenth-century churches, for example Hal Dere 2 and El Nazar, indicates a date of the second phase to *ca* the mid or latter half of the tenth century.⁶² The refectory may belong to the first phase, since the carving of the short passage connecting the refectory to the second-phase church seems out of character with the rest of the excavation.

It is noteworthy that there is remarkably little soot or other detritus covering the walls, which suggests that the monastery was not occupied or utilised for a substantial period of time, a situation similar to both Yusuf Koç and Geyikli monasteries. This is rather surprising, and begs the question why. The donors themselves probably had more than sufficient wealth to fund the continuing operation of their respective monasteries. The monastery of Pic 1223 was decorated by the Theotokos Group – the same workshop that adorned a transitional-phase vestibule of the most opulent extant church in all of Cappadocia, Tokalı Kilise New Church – which presumably required considerable means.⁶³ And the second-phase decoration, albeit monochromatic, demanded the most accomplished master of the kind. Again, ample money is implied. Though the depiction of the three donors at Yusuf Koç may have been formulaic, and thereby misrepresenting their affluence, Geyikli Monastery's founder the *protospatharios*, *hypatos* and *strategos* John Skepides would have had considerable wealth purely on the basis of his salaries – let alone that he belonged to an evidently prosperous family in the same settlement. So, lack of means at the time of foundation does not seem likely. Nor, necessarily, does the advent of the Turks. Both Yusuf Koç and Geyikli monasteries were founded late enough to make such an explanation plausible, but Pic 1223 is at least a half century earlier and yet apparently equally short-lived. Further, all three monasteries were situated in or near settlements that persisted considerably longer.⁶⁴ Perhaps this phenomenon merely reflects the chance survival of the evidence, and other such monasteries were in service for considerably longer periods. But it may equally illustrate the long-time complaint of private foundations falling derelict in Byzantium, among which monasteries were always particularly notorious. If families died out, or bequests no longer sufficient, endowments encroached or taken, then small monasteries founded primarily for the conduct of memorial prayers would be extremely vulnerable indeed. And all three of the monasteries considered here are missing the dovescotes and other features typically

indicative of self-sufficient agricultural production. It may be that these small monasteries founded primarily for *mnemosyna* in Cappadocia were traditionally highly dependent on directed donation (for example *diatyposis*) – much like Eustathios Boilas' ancestral Church of St Barbara was – and thus unable to survive when annuities in money and in kind were no longer received.⁶⁵ Such unprofitable, meagre affairs were also very unlikely to attract any but the most saintly of the *charistikarioi* who were so lambasted by John V, bishop of Antioch (above).

Sacred guardians

The Archangel Monastery (Keşlik Monastery), south of Cemil exhibits a multitude of phases, both in terms of physical modification and painted decoration, which ongoing restoration will hopefully elucidate. Nevertheless, late antique tombs and the resultant nearby Church of St Stephen (originally serving as a funerary church) indicate a long history; the monastery's painted church may date sometime from the seventh through ninth centuries.⁶⁶ The church of the monastery remained in use, possibly continuously, from its inception until the early 1900s, although at some point during this time the monastery died out and the complex became simply a parochial church. The long duration and evident modifications of the monastery, parts of which remain unexplored or unpublished and may reveal much more about life there, owe in no small part to the setting.

The agriculturally fecund surroundings provided grapes for the wine installation and grain to fill the storage areas and brown into bread in the kitchen at the monastery. Especially telling is the substantial storage capacity of the site, particularly in two subterranean chambers that are well cut and integrated into the complex but apparently unpublished. These stores were needed by the monastery – the two tables in this large refectory could accommodate the greatest number of monks out of any monastery for which we have evidence in Cappadocia. The monks assuredly cultivated fields and harvested orchards alongside the neighbouring villagers, for whom the nearby Church of St Stephen probably served as the parish sanctuary. Despite its current isolated setting, the monastery lay near a major Byzantine road that joined Koroma/Matiane to Podandos and linked to the road from Caesarea to Tyana.⁶⁷

Yet the foundation and longevity of the monastery, and the even longer utilisation of its church, may ultimately have owed to a holy spring (*hagiasma*) at the site that undoubtedly quenched the physical as well as the spiritual thirst of the monks and lay villagers.⁶⁸ Holy springs were not unknown in Byzantium – the one at the Blachernae in

Constantinople still exists, for example – and their waters held various powers, often associated with healing or spiritual cleansing. Why this particular Cappadocian spring was recognised as holy when others in the area were not can only be speculated. But the setting bears some resemblance to traditions describing the foundation of the holy church dedicated to the Virgin at the sacred spring at Pege. A tradition recorded by Nikephoros Kallistos recounts a long legend about the emperor Leo's foundation of the church, while Prokopios attributed the shrine to the emperor Justinian (527–65). Both tales stress that the site, not far to the west of Constantinople, lay in a well-watered, shaded, pleasant place with luxuriant foliage, where the emperor(s) built a magnificent shrine to the Virgin by a bubbling spring. Kedrenos records that the church was erected in 560.⁶⁹ The scene of idyllic beauty of the Pege tales parallel the surroundings of the Archangel Monastery. Whether the anonymous 'discoverer' of the holy spring by the Archangel Monastery was likewise divinely inspired, there is little doubt that the *hagiasma* would have assumed an important place in the locality and may have contributed greatly to the social and economic wellbeing of the monastery.

Divine revelation was not confined to the environs of the Archangel Monastery. Göreme Valley contains the majority of Cappadocian monasteries, so densely packed that distinguishing individual monastic complexes is difficult at best (see Figures 4.3 and 6.3); this singular conglomeration of monasteries owes to the popularity of a holy site discussed below. Standing in the little cul-de-sac valley, the site appears as a monastic island in an ocean of desolation. But closer inspection of the environs reveals that settlement abounded beyond the hill chain and across the ravines. The site was less than 200 m from the edges of the settlement. While the close setting of so many monasteries, some preserving masterful frescoes, has led to designation as a World Heritage Site, it has proved impossible to identify definitively the boundaries of individual monasteries. We use Rodley's proposed 11 monastery groupings called Units (see Figure 4.3) for our discussion. Several of her Units comprise more than one church, and Unit 2 has two separate refectories which may be instead two distinct monasteries with the church of one having eroded into oblivion. These are minor concerns when compared to the salient points that many monasteries are present in a close grouping, and the dates attributed to all of the monasteries here are relatively close in time.⁷⁰ A close discussion of two painters' workshops is required at the outset, because the dates for all of the Göreme monasteries, and all of the churches nearby, are predicated upon them – the Yılanlı Group and the Column Group. What is more, the Yılanlı and Column groups

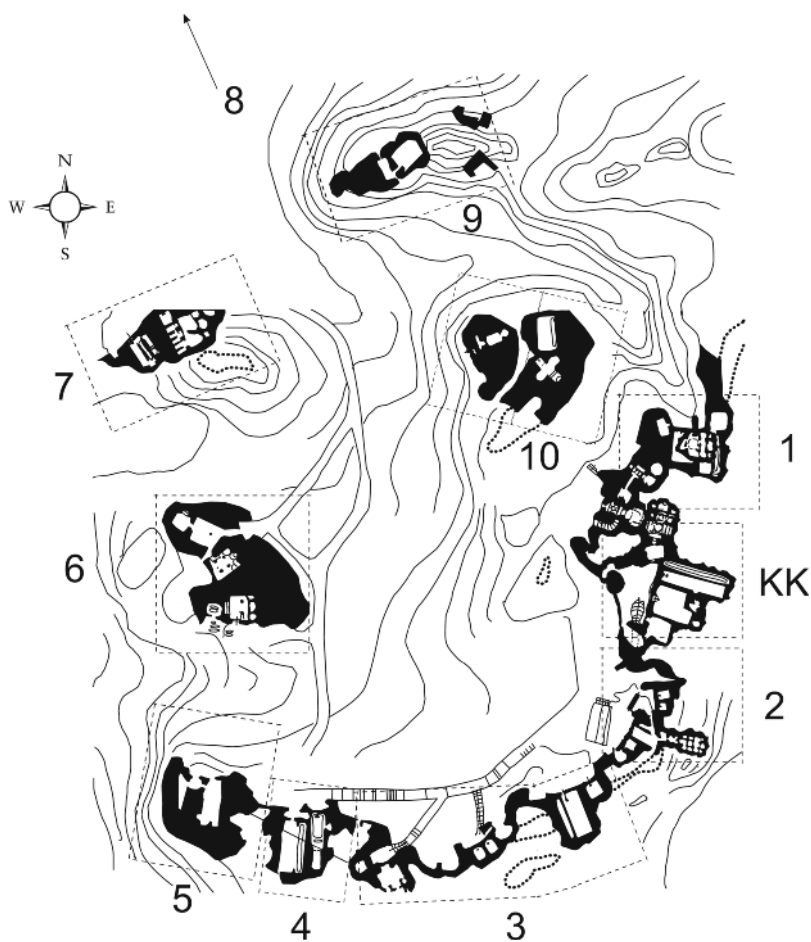


Figure 4.3 Göreme Units

are linchpins that tie together the dating of many other sanctuaries and rock-cut complexes in the region, and form the basis of discussion in Chapter 6 on the evolution of this site as well.

The Yılanlı Group comprises 12 churches that were decorated by the same painter's workshop, and are all roughly contemporaneous. Jerphanion named the group after Yılanlı Kilise at Göreme – though this is something of a misnomer owing to the subsequent discovery of the archetypal church Saklı Kilise – and attributed the painted decoration (and church) to the second half of the eleventh century due

to the small shield or *thorakion* in the depiction of Helena.⁷¹ After the discovery of the more elaborately decorated Saklı Kilise in 1957, Epstein conducted a detailed comparison of the two churches and showed that they were done by the same workshop.⁷² This connection is important, for Epstein attributed Saklı Kilise, and by extension Yılanlı Kilise, to the mid-eleventh century. She compared the frescoes of Saklı Kilise to those of St Sophia in Ochrid (dated mid-eleventh century); noted the strong similarity of the Mandylion depicted in Saklı Kilise (and other members of the Yılanlı Group) to one in a manuscript dated to 1054; and observed fresco stylistics witnessed in Saklı Kilise and Yılanlı Kilise similar to those seen in Karabaş Kilise dated by inscription to 1060/1. She sealed her argument with a graffito dated to 1055 found in another member of the Yılanlı Group, Chapel 17.⁷³

Although the Yılanlı Group exhibit a rather consistent carving style (most obvious in the chancel screens), it is the painted polychromatic decoration that truly identifies this group.⁷⁴ There is a shared stylistic and presentational repertoire. All polychromatic decoration is rendered in isolated panels of painting instead of narratives or coherent themes; the subject matter usually comprises figures of saints or formal compositions such as the Deesis, or an enthroned Christ either alone or flanked by the Virgin and St John the Baptist with individual saints. Not surprisingly, the Cappadocian St Basil is encountered frequently on the walls of the Yılanlı Group. The way figures are rendered, shading is done, lines are drawn, folds in clothing are shown – the myriad details of the painting style of an artist or a workshop – bear affinity. Additionally, red painted decorations such as hashes, triangles, chequers, medallions, zigzags, and other decoration, on flat walls and carved details (for example pillar capitals) are common in this group. So, too, is the Mandylion. Perhaps surprisingly, the painted decorations – both polychrome and red – are mediocre quality. The painted decoration of Saklı Kilise, however, is considerably better than that found among the rest of the group; next falls Yılanlı Kilise itself, in terms of quality, followed by the rest in no certain order.⁷⁵

The other workshop, the Column Group, is characterised by grey or midnight blue backgrounds, combed highlighting of draperies, harsh dark outlines of faces and heads, and a more linear and flattened depiction of features. Karanlık Kilise is the archetype. It contains the best quality of painted decoration and included a costly midnight blue background. The themes painted in this church also served as the model largely followed, but with less skill, in Çarıklı Kilise and Elamlı Kilise; Karanlık Kilise was painted by the master while the other two were

decorated by apprentices. The relatively good preservation and quality of painting make the frescoes of the Column Group an important example of Byzantine art.

Thierry assessed Karanlık Kilise and argued that the better-composed figures in the paintings resemble the saints depicted in the Menologion of Basil II (976–1025), and that the bishops depicted have the *epigonation* as part of their ecclesiastical garb, while the bishops illustrated in Çarıklı Kilise and Elamlı Kilise display the traditional *omophorion* and *epitrachelion*.⁷⁶ That is, since the *epigonation* was introduced at the beginning of the eleventh century, the difference in the attire of the bishops suggests that the *epigonation* was sufficiently new that only the master painter was familiar with it. Thierry attributed the Column Group to the last quarter of the tenth to first quarter of the eleventh century.⁷⁷ But Epstein considered the frescoes of the Church of the Episkopoi in Santorini, dated by lost inscription to 1081–1118, to be more comparative than the illustrations of the Menologion and noted stylistic similarity between the depiction of the second apostolic witness in Karanlık Kilise and the Raising of Lazarus at Daphne; she also expanded her analysis to include the architecture of the Column Group churches.⁷⁸ Namely, Çarıklı Kilise was not excavated fully before it was painted and so did not become the cross-in-square church intended, but rather an ‘abridged cross-in-square’. Such a church floor plan is found in only one other church in Cappadocia: Göreme Chapel 20 (St Barbara). The floor plan of Chapel 20 was modelled intentionally after that of Çarıklı Kilise, but the painted decoration of isolated panels makes Chapel 20 a member of the mid-eleventh-century Yılanlı Group. Göreme Chapel 20 is thus a blend of the two groups, and as such indicates that the Column Group was slightly earlier than the members of the Yılanlı Group. Further clues that would enable a more precise dating are wanting, so the Column Group is attributed to *ca* the mid-eleventh century, which is now the commonly ascribed dating.⁷⁹

Since both the Yılanlı and Column Groups fall to around the mid-eleventh century, the dating of the sites in Göreme becomes greatly simplified. The churches are dated respectively according to their painted decoration, which in turn provides the date for the associated monasteries. Nearly all of the monastery units and churches are dated to the mid-eleventh century or a bit later based on their similarities and associations to either of the two aforementioned workshops. Indeed, only two of the 11 monastery units in this little valley require scrutiny regarding their identification as monasteries. The first of these two is Unit 8, which possesses a refectory, but is missing a church.

However, examination of multiple heavily eroded cavities to the forward right of the refectory suggests that a church once existed very near to the refectory, and this proposed church would seal the monastic character of Unit 8.⁸⁰

The second questionable unit is Unit 6, Elamlı Kilise (Chapel 19).⁸¹ Elamlı Kilise belongs to the Column Group. However, it lacks an associated refectory. The western portion of the rock formation of this site has eroded (collapsed) and the southern reach is now inaccessible; this area is where a refectory may have been located, in either the eroded portion or perhaps it still lies in the southern inaccessible section. There are also several nearby cavities that may have been associated with Elamlı Kilise, but they appear to serve now as pigeon houses and are inaccessible. However, the dearth of an extant, associated refectory is problematic. The erosion indicates that a significant amount of the rock formation has succumbed to mechanical weathering. The apparent volume of rock that has eroded, in turn, implies that a substantial complex attached to the chapel was effaced. Anticipating discussion below, Elamlı Kilise was probably an elite complex that was converted subsequently into a monastery with a refectory.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the unusual density of monasteries seen at Göreme ultimately owes to the manifestation of the 'Feet of Christ' at Çarıklı Kilise and the resultant draw of pilgrims that ensued.⁸² But what is interesting here is that despite the presence of a holy site that obtained some level of attraction, the majority of monasteries and their satellite churches were apparently very meagrely funded. The carved decoration, for example, found in the refectories is generally unimpressive or entirely lacking. And the Yılanlı Group churches in the valley are strikingly poorer quality than the archetype Saklı Kilise just a few hundred metres away. Those who brought in the Yılanlı Group painters clearly were unable to retain the master artist. Indeed, the general quality of work suggests that Yılanlı Kilise itself may have been the only monastic foundation of that group that was able to afford even the journeyman; the rest may have been able to retain only apprentices or locals of lesser skill.

Additionally, these monasteries were founded by different individuals and groups of unrelated people. None of the donors or sponsors found in any of the churches here is repeated; they are confined to single foundations only. And with the exception of the three elite complexes that were converted into monasteries (see Chapter 6), the rest lack a sense of cohesion. Granted, this last impression may owe to erosion and the apparent collapse of some of the rock formations, but many of

the Units retain very crudely excavated associated chambers. Housing many monks at any of these monasteries does not appear to have been an option. The presence of multiple workshops (three have been identified) – and some churches lacking polychromatic decoration – along with vastly divergent levels of overall quality in execution argue against a unified monastery complex, as is often suggested.

The dates of these monasteries and the apparent individual foundations of them also go some way to dispel the notion that the nearby Tokalı Kilise served as a central church for a unified monastic-complex setting (a *katholikon*).⁸³ We discuss Tokalı Kilise more in Chapter 6. Here it suffices to note that this celebrated church received its final phase of painted decoration in the tenth century – a considerable hiatus of some 50 years before any of these monasteries were founded – and that Tokalı Kilise (New Church phase) was adorned on an order of magnitude above that of the best of the monasteries in this valley by an entirely different workshop (the Theotokos Group). One would also expect that if Tokalı Kilise were the *katholikon*, the monasteries would have been situated around or near it; not removed and oriented away from it. The monasteries of Göreme, then, were not another Mt Athos or Olympus, but rather a collection of more modest affairs inspired by the presence of a holy site.

A monastic landscape?

The rather small corpus of monasteries, their close proximity (all within about 50 km radius of a central point), and their chronology deserve consideration. In other words, why are there so few monasteries, all situated in a relatively small area, and only one of them apparently dates to before the tenth century? The nature of the geology certainly accounts for part of the reason – the sampling area represents only about 10 per cent of Cappadocia. But even this district, long heralded as the bastion of monasticism, reveals far fewer monastic houses than prior scholarship implies, especially considering how much Byzantine rock-cut architecture of all kinds has survived. Certainly, there were rock-cut monasteries that have either been destroyed, or not yet found, and there were built ones as well, but the chronological development of the monastic complexes discussed above indicates that Cappadocia never had an unusually high number of monasteries. Rather, the opposite may have been true, particularly for the time before the eleventh century. Even if the alleged extreme pogrom incepted in the eighth century by Constantine V against monasteries, which saw many

confiscated and some plundered or destroyed, was completely effective in Cappadocia for example, one should surely find at least one monastery from the subsequent few centuries.⁸⁴ The sigillographic evidence, or lack thereof, offers silent corroboration. An eleventh-century seal of Methodios, monk and servant of St Prokopios, probably derives from Hagios Prokopios (Ürgüp) in Cappadocia, although it does not necessarily represent directly a monastery there. Otherwise, the tenth- or eleventh-century seal of Stephen, monk and *hegoumenos* of Kamia, may be the only explicit testimony for monasteries in the Cappadocian sigillographic corpus.⁸⁵

Ironically, our near dearth of monastic foundations for the eighth through tenth centuries may owe to the facility of excavating, as the ease and cheapness of digging meant that rich and poor alike could make underground churches, and the preference for these over communal foundations is apparent. The trend throughout Byzantium from sometime in the eighth century through the tenth was to establish private churches instead of monasteries.⁸⁶ So, while monasteries continued to be founded, they were done so in a very modest amount compared to churches. And when one considers the large number of surviving churches in the region for that time period, we may believe confidently that Cappadocia preferred its churches. Such an impression is reinforced by likes of the Church of St Michael at Ihlara (donated by the monk Arsenios and his son the taxiarch Theophylakt), Kubelli 1 at Soğanlı Dere (monk and three family), the Church of St John at Güllü Dere (monk and three others), and the aforementioned Çanavar Kilise at Soğanlı Dere (donated by Eudokia Skepides celebrating her daughter Catherine becoming a nun) – all instances where a monastery might seem more appropriate.⁸⁷ In Cappadocia even monks and those celebrating monasticism seem to have preferred founding churches. The long history of extensive imperial domains throughout the region also played a part in lessening the number of monastic foundations that otherwise might have occurred. This was land that could be endowed to a monastery only by imperial desire, and ultimately monasteries were at the mercy of the *kouratores* who managed these imperial holdings. The eleventh century was a time of increased monastic foundation within the empire, and while Cappadocia merely appears to have followed this trend, its monastic population remained small relative to its population. We can only speculate about monasteries in the more major urban centres, but it seems likely that they were at best in line with what was found in comparable settings. In short, the Cappadocian trend of preferring churches over monasteries was thus in keeping with the rest of Byzantium and

shows some level of integration into the mainstream. What remains unclear, owing to the state of the evidence, is whether the Cappadocian predilection for churches rather than monasteries was more extreme, or if the fashion started earlier than for the majority of Byzantium.

There is little question that the extant monasteries were unpretentious affairs and never reached the status of one of the great houses. The modest size of the complexes is compounded by the usually informal layout and low-quality excavation, where squared walls and flat ceilings are exceptional instead of the norm. The refectory tables support the notion of smaller numbers of monks, with most *trapezas* indicating monastery sizes of less than 20 souls – considerably less than the great houses. Stables are also telling. Namely, few of the Cappadocian monasteries preserve associated stables, and the few that do have stables that could only have accommodated five pair or less of plough oxen. In contrast, the great monastery of Pakourianos had 47 pair of oxen and Skoteine (Boreine) 11.⁸⁸ Typically monasteries of all sizes would hire laymen to conduct the majority of the ploughing, but wealthier ones could supply their own oxen. Any major monasteries in Cappadocia, perhaps like the aforementioned Monastery of St Elisabeth by Leo Argyros somewhere in Charsianon, were built outside of Rocky Cappadocia, and have failed to survive.

So, we are confronted by a Cappadocia strikingly different than traditionally perceived. Where many have ardently promulgated that Cappadocia was a land of monasteries and peopled by monks, we see a region largely wanting such evidence. Yes, there were monasteries – and probably many of them – but there were relatively far fewer of them in the countryside than expected. The examples discussed above do show a considerable variety in the types and natures of these foundations, and hint at how monasticism was stitched into the Cappadocian fabric of life, but they do not reveal a region exceptional in terms of the numbers of monasteries – unless perhaps to say that relative to the rest of Byzantium, there were not that many at all. And generally speaking, monasteries in the countryside were minor affairs indeed. Byzantine Cappadocia witnessed its share of holy men, ascetes, and monks from the earliest times. And the monasteries of that hallowed land stayed true to the monastic ideals of Basil of Caesarea, separate from but integrated into communities, for centuries. But these things transpired in a place of vibrant activity and not in a vacuum. Since Late Antiquity, when the pagan poet Palladas snarled at the ‘solitaries’ and their houses in his native Egypt, Cappadocia had its share of monks, but they were not so many as some have believed, nor did they render the highlands a special preserve of Byzantine monasticism.

5

City of God

Go forth a little way from the city and behold, the new city, the storehouse of piety, the common treasury of the rich, where disease is viewed in a religious light, disaster is thought to be a blessing, and sympathy is put to the test.

GNz Or. 43.63¹

God in the land

No work purporting to provide an introduction to late antique and Cappadocian life can be complete without an overview of the church and the critical role of Christianity in society, so we outline here some salient features of Christian culture in the region. Religious life in Cappadocia has received the most attention of any subject to which scholarly scrutiny has been applied. Scholars have investigated elements of nearly every aspect of faith, from the physical space and artistic expressions of churches and frescos, to the social role played by bishops, and numerous other study areas. This portion of our study proffers a synthetic overview of the Christian Cappadocia, contextualizes the region within the history of the empire.

Though the exact time of the arrival of Christianity in Cappadocia is uncertain, there were Cappadocian Jews present on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:9), and it was among the flourishing Jewish community of Caesarea that Christianity first took root in the region. By Late Antiquity the religion had been established in Anatolia for centuries, and from the third century at the latest there was a functional church hierarchy that included a full range of offices. Foremost among these was the bishop,

the chief priest of a city; in nearby Pontic Neocaesarea the most notable early bishop was Gregory Thaumaturgos, Gregory the Wonderworker (ca 21– ca 270). Tradition holds that when Gregory arrived in the city, there were 17 Christians in his see; when he died, there were only 17 pagans. The widespread conversion of the population, which continued apace in the third and fourth centuries, meant a fundamental shift in institutions, religious orientation, and social interaction that carried into Cappadocia. The Cappadocian Fathers, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzos have been much discussed and are not the focus here, but their writings do offer insight into numerous aspects of Cappadocian life that makes the dearth of ecclesiastical writers, save the works of Firmos and Arethas, all the more regrettable.² The further development of an already well-established hierarchical church, patterned on the administrative structure of the Roman Empire, was, following the legalisation of Christianity under Constantine (324–37), encouraged by the state to develop and spread.³

Just as the Roman Empire was a state built on cities, so the scaffolding of the church was erected on urban centres; there could be a bishop without a city, but not a city without a bishop. From Late Antiquity, the presence of a bishop denoted a city; having this ecclesiastical official present immediately elevated the stature of backwards places in Cappadocia, like Nyssa and Sasima. The *eparchia* of a metropolitan comprised any number of bishoprics, the territory under jurisdiction of a bishop or *episkopos*. Bishops were in many ways the spiritual and public focal point of the church and had wide ranging authority and responsibilities. They received, articulated, and safeguarded orthodox theology, the main platform of which was worked out by the fifth century, but which was continually evolving in response to new political and social realities. Of course, they celebrated the eucharist in their sees. Syrian influence on Cappadocian Christianity generally ran deep. Basil of Caesarea modified the liturgy of Antioch in creating his own version of the liturgy, and his spiritual ties to Antioch, whose bishop Meletios (d. 381) had ordained him a deacon, would influence Christian praxis in the region for some time.⁴ Syrian exegetical and theological influence was important in the work of Basil in particular, as he corresponded with Diodoros of Tarsos (d. ca 390), a prominent Antiochene theologian and the teacher of Chrysostom.⁵

Bishops attended synods and councils where they formulated current expressions of orthodoxy and dealt with matters of church governance. The *episkopos* had religious, and up to a certain point, secular authority over the priests, deacons, and monks (*Nov.* 133.4) in that city as well as

its territory, including towns and villages. He also often functioned as the local educator.⁶ The imperial authorities increasingly called upon bishops to act in the secular realm, where the *episkopos* wielded extensive power. They oversaw ecclesiastical courts (*Nov.* 83) whose cases often overlapped with many civilian courts, and metropolitans could hear cases in which the impartiality of the secular judge was in question, a fact Justinian established as law (*Nov.* 86). Justinian also ordered local magistrates to take their oath of office from bishops (*Nov.* 8), and bishops were ordered to officially witness the instalment of the new provincial governor (*Nov.* 17). Bishops could even separate sons from their families (*Nov.* 81). Although space does not permit enumerating all of the bishops for Cappadocia, a number of higher order clerics are known, and some, like the Cappadocian Fathers, were prominent in wider imperial history. Arethas, metropolitan of Caesarea (902–*ca* 935), played a major role in the controversy of Leo VI's fourth marriage and was a prolific writer and collector of books; a seal of his has been preserved.⁷ More commonly, though, bishops are known in name only or not at all.

Cappadocian bishops were a force early in the history of the church. It scarcely needs mentioning that three of the greatest defenders of Orthodoxy, the Cappadocian Fathers, were native to this land and cast long shadows over their successors. Certainly, the bishopric of Caesarea reached its apex under the leadership of Basil, who packed a lifetime of work into the nine years that he occupied the episcopal throne (370–9). As is seen below, Basil stressed a Cappadocian pragmatism and concern for worldly affairs that personified the ideal late antique bishop. He vigorously defended his own authority, even defying the emperor. He pursued an energetic drive to relieve the poor in his see. After his early years in the church where he sought political accommodation in the compromise of the Acacian party in response to Arianism, Basil hardened into a stalwart Nicene Christian. In part, the position of Basil was due to the elevated status of Caesarea as exarchate in the east, an office that in the fourth century put the office above most metropolitans – a fact that is widely known but rarely stressed in studies of the period. Prior to Chalcedon (451), Caesarea was first in the order of churches of Asia and possessed wide influence and authority over the vast Pontic diocese as well as Armenia. The city was considered the seat of an apostolic see, and tradition held that it was from there that Armenia had been proselytized, in the person of Gregory the Illuminator (fourth century).⁸ It was Basil's predecessor, Eusebius, who likely presided over the Synod of Gangra (*ca* 341), demonstrating the

regional importance of the see, and the adoption of the canons of the synod at Chalcedon likewise. Basil himself was charged by Valens with appointing bishops throughout Roman Armenia, a task which caused him tremendous grief.⁹

The rule of bishop Basil was to be the high point of Cappadocian influence, however, as his successors generally sank into obscurity.¹⁰ The usurpation of Constantinople of the rank of the chief see of Asia at Chalcedon (in 451) certainly contributed, but the anomaly of the Cappadocian Fathers, all of the same era, is all the more shocking for the obscurity of the clergy in following centuries. The rejection of Chalcedon by Armenian bishops further eroded the reach of Cappadocia, which generally remained a stronghold of Chalcedonian belief, although the well-known monophysite bishop Soterichos held the throne of Caesarea in the early sixth century.¹¹

Although some have been critical of his apparent lack of theological interest, the survival of the correspondence of bishop Firmos of Caesarea from the years 431–2 throw light on a bishop whose actions were not unlike those of his illustrious predecessor Basil.¹² Like Basil, Firmos was a prolific correspondent, and he used his epistolary skill to chastise wayward clerics, correct and reconcile those who had strayed from Orthodoxy, request favours and render them in turn, and just like Basil, Firmos also saw in letters a salve to the separation and isolation that often came for an intellectual on the plateau.¹³

Following Firmos the next outstanding bishop of Caesarea is Andrew, who lived at the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh century. Although nothing is known of his life, Andrew produced a Greek commentary on the Apocalypse of John (Revelation) which proved among the most influential of its kind. The great number of manuscripts that survive and its translation into Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic demonstrate the esteem with which the work was held. Andrew wrote sometime around 610 – although Constantinou prefers the date of 611, there is little to recommend it.¹⁴ The commentary of Andrew reveals an insightful writer steeped in patristic literature and staunchly pro-Chalcedonian in outlook. Despite Andrew's decision to write a commentary on the Apocalypse of St John during one of the darkest periods in the history of the empire, the bishop rejected the hysterical eschatology of the day and instead treated the existing troubles as ordinary within the historical context of human suffering, an exegetical technique that reveals an affinity for Syrian interpretive practices and highlights continued intellectual influence of Antioch on Cappadocian scholarly and religious life.¹⁵

Andrew's work served as the foundation for the last well-known bishop of Caesarea, Arethas, who unlike Basil was not an Anatolian but from Patras. Arethas (ca 902–35) is most visible to historians as an author, a collector of classical texts, and a critical link on the transmission of Greek thought and literature to posterity. Although he probably spent almost no time in his see, as was common for higher clergy following the Arab Conquests, it was perhaps partly out of interest in the history of his predecessors that led Arethas to mine and mimic the work of Andrew while creating his own commentary. Likewise, he perhaps drew inspiration from the actions of Basil when confronting the emperor Leo VI during the Moechian crisis, when Arethas first bitterly opposed the emperor (as had Basil the emperor Valens) in support of Nicholas Mystikos, but eventually became reconciled to Leo – a move that has rendered the bishop a purely political and feckless man in the eyes of some scholars.¹⁶

Men like Arethas, absent bishops or intellectuals like Theophylact of Ochrid (1055–1107), generally ceded the spiritual high ground to monks. Vigorous monastic activism in the Christological and Iconoclast controversies had solidified their role as the van of Orthodoxy.¹⁷ Although the office was esteemed throughout Byzantium, the absence of donations and portraits of contemporary bishops in the frescoes of the rock-cut sanctuaries is striking. In the mind's eye of patrons and parishioners, the lions among the clergy were the liturgical and theological masters of the past – Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, and other saintly men.¹⁸ Bishops like Arethas were distant figures, rarely seen by their flocks and almost never in the countryside, and most made little impression on the communities of Cappadocia after Late Antiquity.

Cappadocian bishops needed a chain of subordinates to impose their authority over the vast countryside. By Roman standards late antique Cappadocia was relatively rural, with large ranches and expanses of sparsely inhabited country, and thus the rural counterpart to the urban bishop, the 'country-bishop' (*chorepiskopos*), filled a potential pastoral and administrative void.¹⁹ Since bishops were the chief clerics of cities, the development of the *chorepiskopos* demonstrates that bishops were uncomfortable with lower clergy being given a free hand in remote areas. A number of canons shed light on the role of the office, which had risen to prominence by the fourth century, during which they shared a position of equal rank and authority to urban bishops. Given the essentially rural character of Cappadocian settlement, the role of the *chorepiskopoi* during this period as preachers and deliverers of the

sacraments was vital. Most areas possessed few, if any, permanent clergy and the religious experience was generally shaped by the itinerant country-bishop. The status of these men is demonstrated by their participation as peers of bishops in fourth- and fifth-century councils, but over the course of Late Antiquity urban bishops undermined their positions and finally suborned them. Canon 13 of the Synod of Neocaesarea in Pontos (in 314 or 315) permitted the *chorepiskopos* to conduct the eucharist in the absence of the urban bishop. Yet at nearly the same time, in 314 at the Synod of Ankyra, canon 14 forbid *chorepiskopoi* to ordain presbyters and deacons, though it is possible that the injunction was restricted to the city, where the country-bishops sometimes worked. In 363–4 at Laodikeia in Phrygia, the synod ruled that bishops were not to be appointed in the countryside and among the villages (canon 57), a clear attempt to restrict the office of bishop to cities and to reduce the influence of the country-bishops.²⁰ In few other provinces could the role of the country bishop have been as prominent as in Cappadocia, and thus the impact of these canons must have been particularly strong there.

Regular bishops were keen to maintain their privileges and strict order of hierarchy and not share influence with the increasing number of *chorepiskopoi* that were called into service as the number of rural churches exploded throughout the fourth century. The First Council of Nicaea (canon 8) indicates that country-bishops were appointed by city bishops and thus subordinate to the urban bishops in whose territory they served. The *chorepiskopoi* under Basil of Caesarea appear frequently in his writings, and they occupy a place superior to the presbyter and inferior to the urban bishop. The country bishop often acted on orders from the bishop and sometimes as his proxy.²¹ In the fourth century it seems that each urban bishop had at least one *chorepiskopos*; at Nicaea five bishops from Cappadocia signed at the council of Nicaea, and they are joined by five *chorepiskopoi*. However, Gregory of Nazianzos remarked that Basil had 50 *chorepiskopoi* under his jurisdiction alone, a surprisingly high number that, barring exaggeration, suggests these men were often resident clergy in major villages and on estates.²² Since we must assume that many villages and entire regions were underserved by the church, the huge number of Basil's sub-bishops indicates the density with which the Cappadocian countryside was peopled (and supports our conclusion in Chapter 1). The later history of the *chorepiskopoi* in general has been the subject of some debate, yet as we see below the office continues in Cappadocia at least into the tenth century. Considering that the region never developed the same

deep urban fabric that we find elsewhere in the empire, and especially in light of Rocky Cappadocia, where there were numerous underground towns and villages but only one known bishop, it seems highly probable that the *chorepiskopos* remained an important pastoral figure throughout the Dark Ages of Byzantium.

The office of the *chorepiskopos* tells us something of the nature of the church and the religious experience of the denizens of the region. From the letters of Basil, it is clear that the country bishops were not always welcomed by the clergy they theoretically were to shepherd – Basil has to reassure (*Ep.* 143.5) affiliates that the *chorepiskopos* he sends is his agent, endowed with Basil's trust. The fifth-century bishop Firmos of Caesarea also relied heavily on his country bishops and from his surviving letters to them it is clear that they remained under his direct authority.²³ In the case of Cappadocia, the vastness of the countryside meant that these higher clergy would sometimes travel around remote areas – something with which neither church nor state were entirely comfortable. Country bishops also seemed to have been limited in their ability to ordain clergy, apparently restricted to appointing minor orders. In the experience of those whose sees were shepherded by the *chorepiskopos*, there were positive benefits. His presence among the villagers no doubt provided a face to an otherwise distant ecclesiastical establishment as well as a representative who helped to administer rural matters, and the authority of the position made the *chorepiskopos* a natural intercessor in local disputes in regions where few imperial administrators were present.

Next to the bishop in the clerical order was the priest (*presbyteros*). The priest bore the weight of most of the daily religious duties; he presided over local parishes and was found in essentially every church and chapel in the land. Priests celebrated the liturgy and presided over the other sacraments such as baptism and marriage. Consequently, priests were the primary bond between the church and its flock, and the main religious figure with whom most people associated. So long as they were of moral character and of legitimate birth, any male over 30 years of age could serve (*Nov.* 123) – eunuchs, however, were prohibited from the priesthood (Nicaea canon 1). Formal training was unnecessary, but candidates were expected to lead a blameless life and have a clear knowledge of the faith and the church canons (*Nov.* 6). Before their ordination, those destined for the priesthood could marry, but not afterwards (*In Trullo* canon 6). However, sexual behaviour was difficult to regulate and was frequently problematic (for example canons *In Trullo* 3; 4; 5). Most often priests were individuals of modest means that lived in the villages that

they served and remain largely as anonymous in Rocky Cappadocia as elsewhere. Their adherence to the ideal of apostolic poverty was probably more a function of social standing than it was their choice. Priests were paid, typically not well, from the coffers of the bishop under whom they served, while those in private service were paid from the estates to which they belonged. There were instances of poor priests on such estates being dependent peasants (*paroikoi*), as such they would have generally been impoverished. Alongside these modest clerics were others who had acquired some wealth or were born into it and are memorialized in their foundations, as seen at the tenth-century Alçak kaya altı Kilise (Church of the Priest John) at Belisırma wherein the priest and donor John was interred.²⁴

The combination of ecclesiastic offices, titles, and functions was probably far more commonplace and dynamic than we know, and it was done for specific reasons. The inscription at the so-called Yazılı Kilisesi at Zelve preserves the tenth-century inscription (dated about 961) of Anthimos, priest and *chorepiskopos* of the *kastron* Eretas and exarch. Anthimos, then, was not a simple priest stationed to serve a garrison. Rather, he was a rural or provincial bishop seated at the fortress Eretas, near present-day Avanos by the Kızıl Irmak (Byzantine Halys), and presumably oversaw the environs as well.²⁵ His position as *chorepiskopos* and exarch no doubt reflected the importance of the fortress, but it also likely was intended to afford Anthimos a sufficiently elevated status to preserve church autonomy in what otherwise may have been a private military chapel. Anthimos, as exarch, answered directly to the Patriarch and probably qualified as *autocephalous*. Military installations such as forts (*kastra*) were often treated as leased or personal property of the commander, although officially they could not be inherited or transferred.²⁶ The offices of Anthimos effectively negate much of the power a military commander could have had, in a situation similar to the trend of private foundations discussed below, over a resident clergyman. Tenth-century Cappadocia remained a prominent marching-ground and post of the Byzantine army; the church probably had many like Anthimos, perhaps at every major fort, in the region.

Anthimos was a local denizen of Cappadocia rather than a transfer from Constantinople. He had an estate somewhere in the region, and his inscription mentions the manumission of his slaves, one of whom was named Nikolas. Cappadocian ecclesiastics, then, could be locals of some means. What is more, the arcosolium associated with Anthimos' inscription is oddly not found in connection with a church. The name Yazılı Kilisesi is in fact a misnomer reflecting the presence

of the substantial burial site. Why there is no church is a mystery, but the location of Anthimos' interment suggests that his estate, or one of them, was here near Zelve. How substantial Anthimos' holdings were can only be speculated, but the church generally was not quite as effective at propelling people to the highest echelons of the elite. However, bishops, archbishops, and metropolitans held tremendous sway in – and often ran – their specific cities. These men could amass substantial fortunes, as did one metropolitan of Caesarea whose wealth, perhaps worth 600 lb of gold, certainly elevated him above most (see Chapter 6 for notions on wealth).²⁷

The imperial recovery and expansion in the eastern regions of the empire affected the daily running of the church. The evidence from seals provides a glimpse of the former and shows an organisation that was active everywhere, adapting to new conditions. We possess tenth-century seals from no fewer than nine officials from among the highest ranks of the clergy. They come from Komana, Hexakomia, Nazianzos, Caesarea, Tyana, Tzamandos, Koloneia, and Berinoupolis. Berinoupolis is particularly interesting, for the *De Administrando* (50.140) relates that it was transferred from the Bukellarion to Charsianon under Leo VI to serve as a garrison.²⁸ This seal, however, also reveals that Berinoupolis was a bishopric that is not mentioned in the *notitiae*. Indeed, the sigillographic record furnishes two other bishoprics absent from the *notitias*: the small themes Hexakomia and Tzamandos, the latter a new foundation by Melias, and made suffragan of Caesarea.²⁹ The metropoleis Caesarea and Tyana and the bishoprics Komana and Nazianzos were usual fare in the *notitias*.³⁰ The story for the eleventh century is much the same; however, there is more variety in the sigillographic record of places represented with 20 individuals from 11 locations or regions: Eudokias, Melitene, Nyssa, Koloneia, Larissa, Kamouliana, Herakleia, Parnassos, Caesarea, the metropolitan of Kappadokia, and Tyana.³¹ Two of these seals warrant note. In the early tenth century the garrison of Eudokias, a suffragan and only 85 km to the north of Ikonion, was transferred from the Anatolikon to Kappadokia, and was thus situated in different ecclesiastical and civil districts.³² Also of note, the seal of Athanasios, monk and bishop of Parnassos, is important in no small part because it seems to be one of only three monks in the entire Cappadocian sigillographic record, and furthermore illustrates the fluidity of Byzantine ecclesiastical and monastic systems. Parnassos probably was a suffragan of Mokissos at this time, which agrees with the *notitias*.³³ Thus, as elsewhere throughout the empire, the ecclesiastical organisation of Cappadocia continued

to mirror the political realities of the state, though not perfectly, and mirrored the shifting fortunes. In some ways, however, the situation was even more fluid, affected first by the desire to rationalize imperial control through doomed efforts of urbanisation, the elevation of minor centres to bishoprics, and later by the displacement and uncertainty caused by raids and border warfare.

Despite their status, access to imperial favour, and potential wealth and power, the higher echelons of the church often had a limited influence or presence in the Cappadocian countryside. The steady disappearance of the *synthronon* (seating for clergy behind the altar) from rock-cut churches is a certain marker of dwindling clergy.³⁴ It is just as telling that only one inscription in all of Rocky Cappadocia mentions a full bishop. Tavşanlı Kilise at Mustafapaşa preserves the inscription of two donors, names effaced, and is unusual in that it states the church was decorated in the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (908–59) and under the bishop Leo. The inscription probably dates 913–20, and Leo may have been bishop of Hagios-Prokopios (modern Ürgüp), only 5 km to the NNW.³⁵ The unique mention of a bishop may suggest the donors were ecclesiastical officials, but there is no further evidence such as donor depictions that clarify the issue. Rather, it is evident that the higher ranked ecclesiastic officials typically were concerned most with the administration of their immediate centres or exceptional situations. One example of high-level involvement in the Cappadocian countryside is the case of the metropolitan John of Melitene. He is known for his activity against the Jacobites around that region and participated in anti-Jacobite synods from 1027–39, which included attacks on their monasteries sprinkled throughout eastern Anatolia and Mesopotamia.³⁶ John was awarded the honorific of *synkellos* probably for his role against the Jacobites, as seen in a seal dating to the second quarter of the eleventh century; he is also one of only two *synkelloi* recorded in Cappadocian seals.³⁷

Churches

Before the thorough rooting of the church in Cappadocia, Christians met in synagogues until their expulsion and thereafter in house-churches like the famous one in Dura Europos. Early Christian communities were probably largely inconspicuous, as were those famously reported by Pliny the Younger during his term as governor in Bithynia. Since church building was sometimes illegal, and probably difficult even when authorities were sympathetic, many early groups worshipped

clandestinely in modest underground chapels – figuratively if not always literally. But by Late Antiquity, built churches were common throughout the region, although only two such freestanding examples now may survive in the Cappadocian material record dating as early as the fourth century, the free-cross churches Hanköy at Sivrihisar and Kırık Kilise at Şar Komana. Indeed, the archaeological record illustrates the growth of the church from the fourth century through Late Antiquity. In the fifth century we find five built churches (as well as another handful that may be fifth-century), while the sixth century preserves 13 (plus another five less surely attributed). The number of extant churches is modest, but the percentage change is suggestive of Christianity deepening and spreading its roots throughout Cappadocia. Built churches then drop off with only two specimens for the seventh century, the Basilica of St Pachomios at Dikilitaş (inscription dated 660) and the free-cross Yedi Kapulu at Hırka – Christianity was by now well established in the region, but the effects on new building of the Dark Ages were felt in Cappadocia much like the rest of Byzantium.³⁸

From the fourth century until we run out of evidence in the seventh, the Cappadocians showed equal preference for the basilica and the free-cross church plans, with each century respectively preserving similar numbers of each type. The basilica plan, in particular, is a surprising expression in the organisation of Christian space at this time, since it had fallen out of favour in Constantinople and elsewhere in the empire. The Cappadocian persistence in basilical churches is another mark of regional peculiarity. A few churches of more unusual design were also built in this period – the triconch, cross-domed, and the octagon – and it is unclear why. Perhaps they represent outside origins or influence, or maybe they were intended to be unique for purposes of prestige, or they simply may reflect the Cappadocian appetite for variety so clearly demonstrated in their rock-cut churches and other architecture. Yet, apart from the large structures in the important urban centres, all of these built churches share common construction materials and techniques. Namely, they comprise blocks either of a lighter-coloured tufa formed from compressed volcanic ash, or of the harder extrusive igneous trachyte distinguished by a darker porphyritic exterior. Generally, the early built churches contain apses that project, are pentagonal on the exterior, and have three windows (representing the Trinity), thus revealing a consumption of styles evoking Syrian and Constantinopolitan influences. The relatively preserved church at Tomarza helps illustrate what Late Antique parish churches were like dotting the Cappadocian landscape.

The early-sixth century church at Tomarza, 40 km south of modern Kayseri, is a cross-church, whose form Hill noted is distinctly Anatolian in morphology but Syrian in many of its details.³⁹ It is a compact structure, measuring about 24 m in length from the west entrance to the horseshoe-shaped apse. A central tower over the transept formed an exterior focus of the church, topped by a pyramidal roof similar to examples from the Limestone Massif of northern Syria. Like those Syrian churches, Tomarza was built of fine-quality local ashlars, finished with the rope-mouldings over the windows also common in the late antique Syrian church-building tradition. Much of the decoration therefore belongs to the south, perhaps indicating the church was built by a local patron using Isaurian masons. Following the Isaurian War of Anastasios (491–7), skilled Isaurian stone masons were settled throughout the cities of the empire and it was probably then that many ended up in Cappadocia. Rott noted fragments of blue and red paint that remained in the cornices during his day, colour that must have embellished the cornices throughout. Local stylistic flavour emerges not only in the plan, but in the coursing of the stones, which used tiers of red and white local material to create a colourful interplay inside the sanctuary.⁴⁰ Clearly evident at Tomarza is the Cappadocian predilection for variety in form and decoration, with each respective church reflecting the preference and need of the associated settlement. In view of the ruinous state, or complete destruction, of the early churches, little can be said about their decoration. Almost certainly, the majority were decorated with frescoes. However, the late antique free-cross church at the North Settlement of Akhisar reveals that mural mosaics also were used in Cappadocia.⁴¹ The apparently modest expanse and construction of this church suggests that Cappadocian wall mosaics were not exclusive to the most opulent churches or urban settings in Late Antiquity.

In addition to the built churches there were many early rock-cut ones as well, but few purely late antique examples survive, in part because these sanctuaries remained in use for long periods of time and their forms or decorations were substantially modified later. The facility of physically modifying a rock-cut church or its carved decorations without leaving detectable signs removes a tool often available in assessing built structures. We are therefore frequently limited to surviving painted decoration. But even here, we are faced with serious challenges. Namely, if painted decoration has survived in a church, it is often the case that there are multiple layers; the earlier layers of decoration remain obscured and prevent a specific date for the inception of the church in question. Further, we are confronted with a profound lack of understanding early

Cappadocian art stylistics and viable models with which to compare. It has long been noted that in addition to the high-quality painted decoration done by professional or adept artists, there was also a 'rustic' tradition. Rustic decoration essentially means 'locals without much artistic talent' and is represented by crude figural representations, low-quality symbolic representations, and often limited or inferior-quality palettes. The problem is, rustic decorations cannot be attributed to any particular period without additional evidence. Because of these issues, the majority of scholars agree on the dating of extremely few rock-cut churches to Late Antiquity, to wit the sixth-century churches of St John the Baptist at Çavuşin, Durmuş Kadir Kilisesi at Avcılar, and perhaps Kavak Kilise at Buzluk.⁴² Another 20 or 30 have been attributed to the fourth through seventh centuries by various scholars, but without exception these remain contentious. In general it may be said that many of these controversial churches most likely owe their origins to Late Antiquity or perhaps even the Dark Ages; multiple painted layers are often detectable but unable to be clarified, and they are located in sites with early settlement histories. These churches probably represent a modicum of what there was.

The eighth and ninth centuries are practically a blank slate in Byzantine church building generally, and this is certainly the case in Cappadocia where none of this era survives securely dated. Many late antique sanctuaries continued in use for a considerable time, as did the sixth-century Basilica of Constantine at Eski Andaval that received new painted decoration at least once in the eleventh.⁴³ The sixth-century triconch Church of St George at Ortaköy, used for burials in the thirteenth, and the fifth-century Octagon Church at Sivasa that preserves an inscription dated 1222 are further examples.⁴⁴ The large basilica, some 30 m long, at Selçikler (by Sebasteia) is likely late antique but reveals several phases of use, with the final period of the narthex yielding a coin of Michael VII Doukas (1071–8).⁴⁵ The history of others is less clear, like the sixth-century cross-domed Church of St Eustathios at Mavrucan (Güzelöz) that may have remained in use.⁴⁶ Nonetheless, some other churches eventually were abandoned during their history, such as at the North Settlement Church at Akhisar, although the reason why remains a mystery.⁴⁷

Built churches in the Cappadocian physical record reappear in the Middle Period, with ten examples known. The tenth- or eleventh-century double-nave basilica church of Üçayak south of Kırşehir and the tenth-century free-cross church Yağdebaşı by Hasan Dağ show that, as seen in the earlier centuries, some variety was always appreciated by the

Cappadocian faithful (and the church sponsors); but, as throughout Byzantium at this time, the cross-in-square was the prevalent form.⁴⁸ Indeed, Constantinopolitan influences infused middle Byzantine Cappadocian masonry churches, for example the cross-in-square Karağedik Kilisesi at Belisırma that had a central dome upon a drum and pendentives, a facade with inset arched niches, and arches in brick.⁴⁹ The church was adorned with fine architectural detailing similar to that of contemporary Constantinopolitan churches, but it also was decorated with mediocre frescoes that show some resemblance to those of nearby Bahatın Samanlıği Kilise.⁵⁰ The identity of the sponsor(s) of this church is unknown, but it was decorated and built by local artisans, indicated by the aforementioned frescoes and also putlog holes and notches cut into the stone courses – a trait arguing against Constantinopolitan workshops.⁵¹ Thus, although the cultural gravitational pull of the capital exerted considerable influence on Cappadocia, local traditions and styles continued to exert themselves throughout the Middle Period, expressing a distinctive local colour and flair.⁵²

While locals might execute the work, architectural styles from the centre clearly held currency in Cappadocia. Çanlı Kilise had a 15-Byzantine-foot diameter central dome set in a cross-in-square plan, which was sheltered by roof tiles; markings on a wall of the inner narthex indicate that design of the church was conducted during construction, features and practices found at the time in Constantinople; also its facade is of brick and stone, executed in the recessed-brick style, that preserves several inset arched niches.⁵³ It is by about the twelfth century that the recessed-brick technique became widely disseminated in the Empire, but dendrochronology reveals that the latest portion or phase of Çanlı Kilise dates to *ca* 1028.⁵⁴ Such an early appearance of the recessed-brick style underscores the close ties Cappadocia had with the capital.⁵⁵ Further support of this is found in the content of the fresco decoration, which shows association with Constantinopolitan style in the preserved fragments of the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, and Christ Healing the Paralytic.⁵⁶

Like Karağedik Kilisesi, Çanlı Kilise exhibits many features of Constantinopolitan influence, yet local artisans were employed for the construction and probably the decoration of the church. The facade is actually faux, the thick mortar joints contain no brick, and that which is visible is facing over a rubble core; the floor plan lacks the space given to tripartite sanctuaries so often encountered in Constantinople; the cavetto-and-fillet cornices appear only at the springing of arches, a distinctly Anatolian – versus Constantinopolitan – trait; and putlog holes like those of

Karağedik above differ in technique from Constantinopolitan workshops. And though the frescoes show awareness of Constantinopolitan style, the plaster at Çanlı Kilise is only a single, thin layer rather than the two layers of thick (2–3cm) plaster typical at the capital. While a lack of coordination between mason and artist, revealed in the sometimes awkward depictions at Çanlı Kilise, may indicate an imported artist, there is a more probable alternative explanation. Namely, the constrained execution reflects the employment of a local painter of rock-cut churches: the design of Çanlı Kilise would have been a sinecure to an artist imported from any major centre, where painting built structures was quotidian, but it would be a challenge to one specialised in rock-cut churches, whereat differences in ceiling design and lighting to built architecture forced a different way of displaying painted decoration.⁵⁷ Thus, Çanlı Kilise embodies the blend of contemporary Constantinopolitan trends with those of more local origin. As impressive as it appears today, its overall aspect and quality is that of a rather normal provincial church built quickly by unskilled locals.

Contrary to the insinuation by Berger that Çanlı Kilise was the metropolitan church of Mokissos after the decline of that settlement in the eighth – ninth century, Çanlı Kilise was neither unique, nor extraordinary, nor of some lofty status.⁵⁸ Indeed, the Middle Period built churches in Cappadocia show varying degrees of similarity to Constantinopolitan styles, and Karağedik Kilisesi is architecturally very similar to Çanlı Kilise; thus, similarity to Constantinopolitan style clearly does not indicate metropolitan ties in terms of rank or position. Moreover, Çanlı Kilise was integrated into a rock-cut village, most probably as a private chapel founded by the owners of either Çanlı Area 3 or 4 (see below), and was one of many masonry churches apparently associated with specific rock-cut elite centres, such as the Upper and Middle Church of Çanlı Area 12 and the Church at Çanlı Area 2.⁵⁹

All surviving Cappadocian built churches share a common feature in that they were constructed in settlement contexts. That is, many of the masonry churches now appear in isolation and so present a false impression of having been built in a void. Yet in fact, built churches were of tremendous importance, and indeed integral, to the Byzantine settlements of Cappadocia in which they were found. The same may be said for many of the rock-cut churches in Rocky Cappadocia, where signs of, or even well preserved, settlement sites are found associated but usually ignored in scholarship. In fact, there are several similarities between the built churches and rock-cut ones in Cappadocia. Most notable is the trend in numbers throughout the centuries. Like the built churches, there are very few extant from the fourth and fifth

centuries; the sixth sees a noticeable increase in number, but the seventh and eighth are particularly sparse. While there is a dearth of built churches for the seventh and eighth century, we do have some rock-cut ones, but this is not surprising since the corpus of extant rock-cut churches is over 30 times larger than built ones. The ninth century shows a notable increase in churches, and the tenth and eleventh centuries are an explosion of new foundations; the apogee falls sometime in the eleventh century. While these trends may not directly portray the settlement history of the entire region in terms of the total number of churches – as discussed in Chapter 1 – they do tell us much. For example, the foundation of any church required wealth and resources, in which case the sixth and eleventh centuries appear to have been highpoints for Byzantine Cappadocia economically speaking while the Dark Ages were a nadir as expected. Further, since the pattern appears shared between built and rock-cut churches, we gain some reassurance that there were not extreme developmental differences in the general conditions of built and rock-cut settlements, and that Rocky Cappadocia may be more reflective than not to the rest of the region. We also glimpse something about daily life. Namely, it is evident that villages and settlements of all kinds not only had their churches but were voracious for them – numerous sites host churches likely dating to Late Antiquity as well as the middle period (and often multiple ones at that), and few settlements have only one church. Indeed, one suspects that a church was a requisite to qualify for the meagre status of village, and churches were a point of pride and probably something of a competition as well.

Private churches

Episcopal churches, that is, those under the direct control of the church with priests who were appointed by and answered to bishops, could be found in every major centre and many of the smaller ones. But private churches dotted the landscape as well, and it seems by the fourth century these were common in both city and countryside. Gregory of Nazianzos himself served in a private church in Constantinople among the pro-Nicene elites of the capital.⁶⁰ When and where the first private church was founded will remain an open question, but it is clear that private churches had an early history in Cappadocia. Gregory of Nyssa's account about the residence of Adelphios, situated in Cappadocia in the area of Avanos (Venasa), mentions a church under construction in front of the residence; this church is a private elite foundation tied intimately to the residential compound.⁶¹ In their desire to possess the

sacred, with the attendant spiritual and material blessings that such ownership offered, Cappadocian elites were rather typical; the private chapel of Adelphios was hardly unique in the late antique empire. Archaeologically, examples are particularly prevalent in the western provinces, for example in Roman Britain at Lullingford, famously in central Spain in Carranque, and in northeastern Spain at the Villa Fortunatus.⁶² In the East, private churches are harder to identify in the archaeological record, but we find villa churches in the Balkans at Kékkútn and probably Sümeg.⁶³

Since the very first private church foundation, the church experienced competition that simmered hotter and colder over the centuries but never entirely disappeared. Ultimately the contention was one of control: clerics entering the service of a private foundation were beholden to a layman rather than a bishop. And private churches always posed a risk to the church of unorthodox – or heretical – practices that could evade the guiding hand of the patriarch and his bishops. As early as the final quarter of the fourth century – not too long after Adelphios' church was built – a series of legislation was imposed by emperors to prevent heretical groups from using private churches that eventually helped inform the first general law governing the establishment of private churches by emperor Zeno (474–91). The efforts of Zeno and his predecessors were bolstered by Justinian, who felt compelled to blunt the role of private foundations in spreading or preserving heresy. By 545, after a series of rules, the emperor had effectively permitted private churches that utilised public clergy, were open to the public, and received approval and sanctification – through a public procession – by a bishop. This was an attempt to strengthen episcopal control and force public awareness (and monitoring) of all such foundations, including those in the village, the home, and the elite estate. Justinian's primary concern was Monophysitism, but his legislation applied to all potential heterodoxy and thus remained the official framework into the ninth century. Despite these efforts, however, private churches continued to be established through the empire in violation of the imperial mandates.⁶⁴

Cappadocia was no exception. The sixth-century elite centre at Özkonak (see Chapter 6) violates Justinian's edicts about private churches. The site contains an architecturally complete chapel (an integrated church) that apparently precluded public participation, but clearly was for private family worship. The destruction or deleterious state of late antique and early medieval Cappadocian churches, particularly their decorations, makes it impossible to assess how widespread private

church foundations were in the region or how many may have housed heretical sects. Even for the greatly celebrated Iconoclast controversy we are at a loss – aniconic church decoration appears to have always been an acceptable style in Cappadocia, and it is notoriously difficult to date. And heavy or exclusive use of the cross is no more telling – it was a commonly used theme in Cappadocia for many centuries.⁶⁵ For those Middle Period churches that display blended traditions such as Selime Kilise, which is a confluence of Byzantine and Georgian styles and may have been used by immigrant Georgian nobles, the strict adherence to Byzantine orthodoxy can only be speculated.⁶⁶ Yet we may surmise, based on hints such as the elite complex at Özkonak, that private churches were at least as prevalent in Cappadocia as elsewhere into the ninth century. In fact, there is a strong probability that the region had a slightly higher proportion and Rocky Cappadocia likely had a particularly elevated profusion of them owing to especially accommodating geology and consequently lower cost threshold. Churches could be cut into the soft tuff relatively quickly and with comparatively little outlay, and the range of painted decoration through all periods shows that artisans with varying degrees of skill were never in short supply, their services also had to be at fairly modest expense.

From the eighth through tenth centuries the foundations of private churches became especially fashionable and it was *de mode* to establish private churches instead of monasteries; even pious villagers built private churches on their own land. At the Quinisext Council in 692, canon 25 mandated that rural parishes (*agroikikas*) submit to the jurisdiction of the bishop unless they had been free from his oversight for 30 years. The bishops gathered in the Quinisext Council took a hard stance on limiting private worship, as they forbade priests from offering the Eucharist and baptism in private churches without the consent of the bishop (canons 31, 59). Despite these measures, the canons of the Council of Constantinople in 861 reveal that clergy continued to conduct the liturgy in private churches without episcopal approval, which the *Epanagoge* (9.18) reaffirmed as a notable problem only a few decades later.⁶⁷ Again the issue was one of control, with private churches that held private liturgies purportedly being hotbeds of heretical practice. Whether Leo VI (886–912) was catering to the elite benefactors of the empire or simply bowing to the reality that private churches with private liturgies were ubiquitous and here to stay, he effectively emasculated the institutional church. Leo's *Basilika* and even more so his *Novels* eroded whatever real control existed over private foundations by dismissing concerns over possibly associated

heretical practices; in essence the emperor argued that while previous attempts to control private foundations due to concerns over heresy were noble, the results were actually detrimental to all good citizens. Private churches with private liturgy were not only permitted, but baptisms were now allowed and private clergy that were entirely beyond the reach of patriarch and bishops condoned.⁶⁸ Around this time, the Cappadocian archaeological record reveals a notable explosion of private churches, found as integrated chapels in elite centres, starting in the tenth century and elevating in the eleventh; this surely is not all coincidence. Other private churches certainly speckled the region, but the meagre data of built churches precludes much assessment.

Imperial legislation regarding private foundations was rarely motivated purely by concern over heterodoxy, but rather often aimed to curb tax abuses and wealth transfer techniques that were detrimental to the fisc or other imperial concerns. Often, the law presented the church with powerful support. Although the reign of Leo VI ended much of the aspect of mutual concern over heterodoxy, it did not end imperial interest over private foundations. The Cappadocian emperor Nikephoros Phokas (963–9), for example, sought to halt all new private foundations and instead divert such intentions to revitalizing the myriad dilapidating foundations strewn about Byzantium. Nikephoros Phokas was a driven general and emperor and the head of the greatest Cappadocian magnate family, but his efforts were ineffectual in his home region and power base. His decree to forbid was met with the excavation of numerous churches in Rocky Cappadocia that date to his reign, including the Great Pigeon House at Çavuşin celebrating his own military success. Subsequent emperors seem to have fared no better when it came to restraining private church foundation in Cappadocia.⁶⁹ The eleventh-century will of Eustathios Boilas mentions that his mother founded the Church of the Hierarchs in the theme of Kappadokia, and he upheld the apparent tradition by founding a few of his own in his new home of Edessa; it is unclear whether all of his now-dispossessed Cappadocian estates had churches, but it seems likely.⁷⁰ Indeed, private church foundations occurred in the region even well after Turkish control had been established. Lady Thumar and her husband, the *amirarzes* Basil Giag(oupes?), founded the Church of St George in Belisırma in 1283–95, and Thumar endowed it with a vineyard bought at Siaraphatenes (unlocalised).⁷¹

Thus, the private church foundation for the church was an issue of authority over its priests and an attempt to impose Orthodoxy, but for the emperor it was usually a blend of religious concern and practical

financial issues. The rise of private religious establishments mirrored the decline of the urban bishop and the gravity of cities generally, and along with these an overall decline in numbers of presbyters. The elite used private foundations for financial advantage as well as for motives of prestige and piety. But at the level of the mere priest, it was often a temporal issue of a moderately better income to salve the rigours of an otherwise penurious existence. In the eleventh century Eustathios Boilas allocated annually for the church he founded a mere 26 *nomismata* in total salary (*rogai*) for about five presiding clergy, one of whom also received a stipend in-kind (*annona*).⁷² Indeed, priests' need or desire for more income seems to have been a rather ubiquitous and persistent theme. Priests commonly held second jobs in a multitude of occupations. Herding, farming, calligraphy and teaching are but a few examples. More unsavoury, and apparently equally common, were clergy who kept taverns or lent money at interest, both of which the Quinisext Council (canons 9, 10) forbade. Positions of state and household management were sufficiently popular to elicit condemnation while tax collection became a forbidden occupation in *Epanagoge* 9.3 under Basil I during patriarch Photios' second term (878–86). The censure of these last positions undoubtedly was tied to the overarching point of contention with private churches. Priests who flocked to such employment left the control of the church. When Eustathios Boilas bequeathed some of his wealth to his personal foundations and his old family church in Cappadocia, he showed that neither time, nor distance, nor even death removed the sense of ownership and control. These churches would remain his family's, despite the church.⁷³

Piety and religious observance

It is impossible to gain any full sense of a complete expression of Christianity, with all its variety and oddities, as practised among ancient and medieval Cappadocians. In church settings and on pilgrimage, Christian piety operated in space that was neither entirely public nor entirely private. One could both devoutly perform one's religious observances, but also be seen to enact them – behaviour of importance not only for one's personal identity, but for one's community identity as well. So we see certain Byzantine elites Nikephoros and Basil (or Bassianos) depicted in prayer at the feet of Christ in Karanlık Kilise.⁷⁴ These men are aided by Mary and John the Baptist in having their prayers heard and, we assume, in receiving Christ's blessing on earth and eternal life. The permanent association in paint of a petitioner and his God

is a potent symbol of association found throughout Christian art that underscores the conventional piety of the Cappadocian wealthy. In the case of the churchgoers at Karanlık, the painting reminded succeeding generations of the virtuous humility (*tapeinotes*) and charity (*agape*) of their donor ancestors (or the ancestors of masters in the case of the *paroikoi*), while simultaneously enjoining them to the same ethic worthy of their religion and rank.

By Late Antiquity Cappadocia was majority Christian whose year was organized in the rhythmic cycle of saints' days and a religious progression of feasts that competed with and had in part supplanted the old polytheist celebrations. The Christian year focussed on the remembrance of the great feast of Pascha (Easter) the commemoration of the crucifixion, resurrection, and salvation delivered by Christ. By the days of Basil of Caesarea, it was normal for Cappadocian Christians to fast for five days a week over the seven weeks that preceded Easter.⁷⁵ By the fourth century, Anatolian communities celebrated Pascha throughout one week that culminated in the Sunday observance of the resurrection. Easter was a holy week of celebration in which work was to be suspended and was part of a long strand of religious observance in the 40- or 50-day celebration culminating in Pentecost.⁷⁶ Gregory of Nyssa noted that Christians normally offered presents to one another on Easter, and gift-giving was a part of the other major holidays as well.⁷⁷ These practices, which the Cappadocian Fathers helped to negotiate and advance, became commonplace throughout the churches of the east by the middle Byzantine period, when they formed the core of the church calendar and pious observance throughout the year.

The feast of the nativity, Christmas or *genethlion*, was widespread throughout the east only at the end of the fourth century. In 380 Gregory of Nazianzos probably led the first celebrations of Christmas as the feast of the Nativity on December 25, early in the reign of the pro-Nicene emperor Theodosios I (379–95). In a sermon preached in 386, Chrysostom noted that the birth of Christ had only been known for a decade prior, and it is probable that, as with many spiritual influences noted throughout this chapter, the holiday had spread from Antioch to Cappadocia and possibly thence to Constantinople.⁷⁸ On January 6, Christians celebrated Epiphany, which by the fourth century commemorated Christ's baptism.⁷⁹ Epiphany, the Feast of Lights (*ta phota*), is described by Gregory of Nazianzos in *Oration* 38 as the day on which Christians were reminded of the birth and baptism of Christ, the nativity and theophany. Similarly, in proclaiming the holiday, Basil of Caesarea exclaimed, 'Great art thou and wonderful are thy works,'

an utterance that persists in the Orthodox prayer of the blessing of the waters that recalled the baptism of Jesus. The blessing of running waters was an ancient Christian observance, in which worshippers brought vessels in which to receive the sanctified liquid. The fourth-century bishop Asterios of Amaseia, who was born in Cappadocia, preached a New Year's sermon in which he described the gloom of polytheists, who greeted one another with a kiss on the lips to celebrate the holiday and offered coins as presents to one another; the day was one of chaos as performers, vagrants, and children rampaged through the streets and boisterously demanded presents. Asterios contrasted this behaviour with the joy that Christians experienced at Epiphany – though Christian behaviour was far from perfect if the riotous scenes of drunkenness and their elaborate drinking parties described by Basil are any reflection of reality.⁸⁰

But in Late Antiquity not all Cappadocians were Christians, and even among those who were, some of the old habits were hard to break. Pagan festivals were celebrated in Late Antiquity and beyond. Saturnalia, in which slave-master roles were reversed and gifts exchanged around the time of the winter solstice on December 17, was celebrated in the region and elsewhere. The vintage festival of Brumalia, a fête in November and December, and Bota, in honour of Pan, were ubiquitous throughout the empire, drawing the wrath of the bishops gathered at the Quinisext council (canon 62), who forbade Christians from partaking in them. Gregory of Nyssa lamented Cappadocians celebrating the Roman New Year on January 1, in which polytheists and some Christians caroused and exchanged gifts. It was no doubt the *Kalends Ianuarius* to which Gregory of Nazianzos referred when he described the decoration of doorways and streets, as well as the wearing of fine clothing, dancing, fine foods, and drinking that was to be avoided during Epiphany.⁸¹ In the seventh century, there were still those who leapt over fires during the new moon (*in Trullo*, canon 65) – the similarity with the Persian festival of *Nowruz* is apparent, and this custom probably also remained common in the Cappadocian countryside.

Another major facet of Christian life, charitable outreach – or patronage, depending on one's perspective – fashioned a complicated web that expressed the relationships of secular elites and their religious peers, but it also established a public image of power and piety among the needy.⁸² Donations and almsgiving articulated relationships between the church and its body of believers. Gift-giving also expressed affairs between wealthy patrons and the ecclesiastic establishment. Finally, support for church establishments and philanthropic endeavours reinforced poorer

believers as dependent on aristocrats and their clergy. Power generally flowed one way, from the giver to receiver. In the Byzantine experience, the recipients of gifts were often monasteries or the secular church and these in turn made their own gifts or charitable works, especially to the poor. Basil of Caesarea is widely viewed as one of the founders of the view of salvation through the poor. Chrysostom also implored his listeners at Antioch to give generously to the poor, whose condition he held as exemplary. Chrysostom urged the wealthy to free themselves of their need for possessions, and in doing so to perfect their spirits.⁸³ This kind of gift exchange perverted classical norms of gift giving and receiving, which articulated intricate relations among the participants. In the Christian euergetism and charity of the Cappadocian fathers and men like Chrysostom, Christian elites in Cappadocia were rather persuaded to give gifts not for the enhancement of social standing and power, but for invisible and intangible benefits palpable only in the afterlife, ‘the short road to salvation’ as Gregory of Nazianzos (*Or.* 43.63) called it. A by-product of giving remained social prestige, as holiness could be culled from the rich through the gold they provided to the needy – the *vita* of John the Almsgiver providing perhaps the best example of the holy man commemorated for his charity. Holman has analyzed in detail the social construction and uses of the poor by Basil of Caesarea, whose conceptualization of the poor were as salvific vessels for the wealthy mingled with his assertion of the role of bishop as civic patron par excellence, in large part due to his experience as a priest in the famine of *ca* 369.⁸⁴

In Late Antiquity Cappadocians significantly influenced pious outreach empire-wide. Basil famously constructed the charitable compound of Basileias in the suburbs of Caesarea, the ‘new city’ alluded to in letters and by Gregory of Nazianzos in his funeral oration of Basil (*Or.* 43.63). Basileias was a vast complex, with hospices for the sick and indigent, facilities for doctors and nurses, as well as guest quarters for travellers and visitors. There were also store-houses and, of course, chapels and other structures vital to his ministry and care for the downtrodden.⁸⁵ How long this remarkable centre functioned is uncertain – it did operate into the sixth century, and at least initially received some imperial help as well as assistance from the local governors whom Basil lobbied for a tax relief for his clergy and other financial considerations that aided his community of the poor.⁸⁶ The *Asketikon* of Basil also makes it clear that hospitals (*xenodocheia*) were common features in monasteries throughout Cappadocia and were thus integral to early Christian pious expression and ecclesiastical life.⁸⁷ Basil acted within a climate of pious Christian

outreach that in his day included both Arians and Nicaeans, perhaps in competition with one another as were later Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians. George the Cappadocian, the Arian bishop of Alexandria, founded xenodocheia throughout the city, possibly inspired by examples from his experiences in his homeland. The tradition of Cappadocian urban monasticism translated well to houses of healing, and ideas gleaned from their experiences in foundations like Basileias were probably carried by monks from Anatolia to the Holy Land and other regions in the Levant during Late Antiquity. John Chrysostom may well have followed the example of Basil in founding hospitals throughout Constantinople during his patriarchate.⁸⁸

Despite the lionized image of Basil among his contemporaries and later scholars, his model of civic outpouring of Christian charity, enacted by pious elites for the benefit of entire cities, cannot have been the norm. Christian euergetism was not destined to replace pagan forms of civic virtue in the tableaux of urban life. Instead, civic Christianity was largely doomed along with the cities that hosted it, on account of the eruption of the armies of Islam into the Levant and Anatolia in the seventh century. One wonders how much of Christian charity and piety in Cappadocia was funnelled through the churches of influential bishops, and how much was administered locally, on the estates and in the private foundations of individuals of more pragmatic and parochial interests. Surviving donor inscriptions are generally private and offered for one's own personal gain – most famously the Aachen Reliquary of Eustathios Maleinos, a model of the Holy Sepulchre offered to the church at Antioch, which had recently come under Byzantine control.⁸⁹ Such a rich offering would have also reinforced the local Melkite church in the face of local challenges from anti-Chalcedonian Christians, Muslims, and Jews, and was a clear statement of Byzantine intentions to regain political mastery over the holy places in Jerusalem. Less grand and far more personal are the ubiquitous donations found in abundance in the troglodytic churches that evoke the piety of elite donors. At Ayvalı in the eleventh century, John was, like his fellow donors, 'the servant of Christ' whose funds helped to decorate the church there.⁹⁰ But John is also painted as an elegantly dressed, beardless youth, appointed with an earring. The *vanitas* of such an image is far from unique, as demonstrated in pictures found in Yusuf Koç Kilisesi and Karabaş Kilise, whose patrons wear flamboyant turban-like hats, opulent brocaded robes, and fine pointed slippers: finery that would have served well in the halls of the imperial court. The figures of John and those like him were meant to be seen by the donor and their families as well as

their descendents: reminders of the deeds of contemporaries and pious ancestors alike as religious mementos and heroic icons. But at their heart, these decorated spaces, private churches, monasteries and village ecclesia aimed at personal redemption, as is made so clear in numerous inscriptions throughout Rocky Cappadocia. The words of an otherwise-unknown, eleventh-century Kosmas found at Çarıklı Kilise in Göreme appear in some fashion in the sanctuaries great and small: 'Holy Cross, help me, Kosmas, the unworthy servant (of God). Save me from eternal punishment'.⁹¹ The donors had done their bit, and it was up to God to do His.

Recalling the saints

By the days of the Cappadocian Fathers, the region boasted an array of local saints, martyrs for the faith who were celebrated throughout the year. In the daily life of the inhabitants, saints' days occasioned feasting, holy processions, religious services, and general rejoicing at the shrines of the holy ones. Not long after the start of the imperial fiscal new year, probably on 24 September in Anatolia, the Cappadocian faithful celebrated the life and death of the local St Mamas, famous for being martyred during tribulations in the third century.⁹² Mamas was still recalled many centuries later, for example as seen in the mid-tenth century church of the Archangels at Zindanönü, Kızıl Çukur.⁹³ In November Cappadocians feasted the Cappadocian military saint Merkourios, who tradition states was also martyred in the third century. After the Nativity, the feast of the proto-martyr Stephen was celebrated and later in the winter or early spring the local martyr Gordios, on whose day Basil delivered a homily at a martyrrium just outside the city. Basil delivered his sermon on the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Sebasteia) on 9 March 373. One of the region's most renowned sons, St George, was celebrated on April 23 and his flourishing cult *après Byzance* is remembered in the Church of St George at Kırk Dam Altı Kilise, dated to sometime between 1284–1308.⁹⁴ These examples are not exhaustive – there were other local martyrs, such as Ss Julitta and Orestes, who helped to shape the spiritual lives and establish the rhythm of life among the Christian communities of the plateau and whose cults persisted through the whole of the Byzantine era. Orestes, allegedly martyred in Late Antiquity at Tyana, remained a venerated figure in his native Cappadocia through the tenth century at least; he is depicted in the Chapel of St John, Güllü Dere (painted 913–20).⁹⁵

If Cappadocian martyrs abound, detailed *lives* of wonder workers do not. This may be simply an accident of survival, but those saints that are

commemorated in the Constantinopolitan *synaxaria* (church calendars of fixed feasts) recall holy people who were more conventional in their path to sainthood. Cappadocia produced medieval aristocratic saints, including Eudokimos, who was born during the reign of Theophilos (829–42) as the son of a Cappadocian *patrikios*. Eudokimos gained fame for his incorruptible behaviour and chastity. His memory was evoked by a later relative, St Michael Maleinos, the uncle of Nikephoros Phokas. Though both saints were born in Cappadocia, their model lives were lived in and around the capital and Bithynia, where many eastern magnate families held estates. There was also the monk Ignatios of Bathyrrhax (Bathys Ryax), a Cappadocian *hegoumenos* whose brief notice in the Constantinopolitan synaxarion hints at his connection with the capital. Unfortunately, we have no information of Ignatios' origin, but the synaxarion's description of Skleros as godless and rampaging throughout the whole of Anatolia indicates authorship around the 976–9 rebellion of Bardas Skleros. The entry probably belongs to the tradition of the Maleinoi and Phokades prevalent in the *Life of Michael Maleinos*, with its Cappadocia-Constantinopolitan axis and its anti-Skleroi rhetoric. Their path to sainthood was through a model Christian life of the cloister and through works of charity to the poor rather than bodily mortification or miraculous powers.

Hyacinth, supposedly a martyr under Trajan, was commemorated in Constantinople in the tenth century, as were Ss Blasios of Sebasteia and Eudokimos. None of these cults seem to have been particularly new and reflect the influence of Cappadocian provincials in the religious life of the capital.⁹⁶ Blasios appears beside Constantine and Helena in the Pigeon House Church at Çavuşin, and while Thierry has noted the obvious desire of Nikephoros to depict himself as a scion of the house of Constantine, the juxtaposition of the latter and his imperial mother with a local, minor saint suggests also the devotion of the Phokades to the cult of the martyred bishop. The Pigeon House Church was done by those with close knowledge of the Phokades, and the association with Blasios was undoubtedly intentional. In these matters of local cult observance and the export of local holy people, Cappadocians fitted completely within the normal schema of medieval Byzantine Orthodoxy.

The *life* of St Irene of Chyrsobolanton, whose composition belongs to the reign of Basil II, does depict a wonder-worker gifted with prophetic foresight. The *vita* portrays Irene as a holy woman who thwarts magic and combats the bodily lust of those around her; she persistently battles the devil and his demons. Though the *vita* barely mentions it, Irene was

born in Cappadocia, and her family of the Goumer or Gouber occupied high imperial posts in the ninth and tenth centuries and possessed influence in Constantinople. Despite her retreating to monastic life in the capital, there are hints of her Cappadocian connections – she has a vision of St Basil and intervenes in the life of a Cappadocian aristocratic woman who wants to cast off the contemplative life so as to marry the man she loves. Irene’s devotion was a familial, private religiosity enacted among her adopted monastic family and through her worldly kinsman, as revealed in the moving episode of the release of her relative from the emperor’s prison. The sanctity of Cappadocian elites was, like those of other medieval Byzantine aristocrats, another marker of a good family name bound up with and reinforcing worldly success.⁹⁷

These later lives tell us little about daily life for the Cappadocian religious and secular elites, but they do indicate the wide-ranging connections of the families across Anatolia and into the capital. To gain further influence throughout the empire, magnate families used their wealth and power not only within government, but extended their hand throughout the church as well. It is telling that, far from the martyrs and impoverished holy people of Late Antiquity, the image that emerges from the *lives* of the middle Byzantine saints of Cappadocian origin is one in which the heroes are often pious in a rather conventional way. More importantly, they are typically scions of the great families and exemplify a paradigm of the holiness that is incumbent not only upon their religiosity, but also on their success as advocates within monastic circles, successes largely achieved through their family fortunes and political ties.

Holy places

The concept of a sacred place imbued with magical or spiritual power is a truly ancient one, hearkening to our earliest ancestors, and is well attested throughout the pagan Greco-Roman and Judaic worlds that preceded the Byzantine one.⁹⁸ Cappadocia had once been home to some of the greatest temples in Anatolia, including the mighty complex of Zeus Venasa around Avanos, and the usurpation of such important cult centres by Christian ones required a fundamental rewiring of the sacred spaces of the land as well as constant promotion by the Christian religious authorities. Once backed by Constantine’s imperial motives, however, holy places germinated rapidly throughout the empire. This is not to say, of course, that Christian holy places and the veneration of related relics and saints did not exist prior – long before the emperor Constantine and Helena vivified pilgrimage to

Palestine, the feast of the Forty Martyrs had already been celebrated at Sebasteia in Cappadocia.⁹⁹ And Cappadocia participated alongside the rest of the empire in the rapid increase of Christian holy places that ensued. Indeed, Cappadocia was well-placed to benefit from the flood of pilgrims that followed the major route, from Constantinople along the great trunk road that continued on through Caesarea to Tyana and thence into Syria. There can be no doubt that Cappadocia's burgeoning litany of local martyrs developed partly as complements to – and in competition with – the much more famous Palestinian shrines. Around 380 the new festival of Bishop Peter, a victim of the Great Persecution, joined the calendar of events, and Gregory of Nyssa stated that there were innumerable martyria already in Cappadocia, including an anonymous holy place at Nyssa that he described in some detail, an account that has allowed scholars to discuss possible reconstructions of the interesting octagonal saintly monument. The site at Nyssa joins anonymous Late Antique *loci sancti* mentioned by Gregory of Nazianzos at Nazianzos and Andaemonoi (unlocalized).¹⁰⁰

The shrine of St Mamas near Caesarea was frequented by the fourth century at the latest. Basil delivered a sermon outside the martyrion, which was constructed in 345 near the imperial estate of Makelle, where Gallus and Julian were exiled by Constantius. Basil also collected the relics of St Sabas, which he conveyed to Cappadocia from Thessaly, and the bishop promoted the cults of local Cappadocian martyrs, such as Gordios, whose shrine was set along with several other local saints in a complex in the suburbs of Caesarea.¹⁰¹ The local martyr Orestes of Tyana also developed a pilgrimage centre on a mountain near the city. Gregory of Nazianzos recalled that one of the reasons that Basil vehemently opposed the proposed partition of the country under Valens was that Caesarea would have lost access to the lucrative offerings of the shrine of Orestes, which fell within the jurisdiction of Cappadocia II.¹⁰² Spiritual capital was a palpable reality.

Although they were not on the main pilgrimage road that connected Palestine with the Balkans and western Europe, cities east of Caesarea in Armenia and upper Mesopotamia also fostered flourishing local cults that engendered considerable pilgrim centres. In addition to the famous Forty Martyrs celebrated at Sebasteia, the city boasted saints Blasios and the fourth-century bishop Peter. Nearby Nicopolis was not to be outdone by its more illustrious neighbour Sebasteia, and boasted a shrine of the Forty-Five Martyrs, for which Justinian built a monastery (*De Aed* 3.4.13). Melitene also hosted a shrine to a martyred throng (33 in its case), and was home to St Polyuktos, whose cult

arose early and whose veneration was widespread so that Anicia Juliana dedicated a magnificent church to him in the sixth century.¹⁰³ From this discussion it is clear that only a fraction of the map of the pilgrimage landscape of late antique Cappadocia has been passed down to us, but despite its fragmentary nature, the list is tantalizing and speaks of a flourishing peregrination throughout the cities and countryside of Cappadocia from Late Antiquity onwards.

'He who touches the bones of a martyr partakes in the sanctity and grace that resides in them,' said bishop Basil of Caesarea.¹⁰⁴ The principle concern of the pilgrim became not holy places or the associated relics thereof *per se* but rather, as Gregory of Nyssa observed, that holiness is not something that can be acquired through contact with a place or object but is a reflection of the state of one's soul. Such nuanced religious insight occupied theologians in one way or another until the end of Byzantium, but it remained a rather abstruse issue to the majority of people who would visit and venerate holy places and relics in pilgrimage. To the average Byzantine the fundamental aspect was not the journey to the holy destination but rather the moment of direct open exposure to such holiness. In other words, the trip to the destination held little relevance to the critical action of veneration. This is why there was no word for pilgrim that carried the connotation of journey as it does in English or French *et al.*; the important term was *proskynetes* – one who venerates.¹⁰⁵ So, a Byzantine pilgrim could walk across a village to a destination just as legitimately as one who traversed the empire; both shared the same goal of veneration. And because, evidently, holiness was associative in nature, almost anywhere or anything could be the focus of veneration if the context made sense. We see varying degrees of duplication of numerous holy sites through the transferences of portions of a saint's remains or a relic's pieces. And the confounding ability of some saints' bodies to exist simultaneously in more than one place led to the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, for example, to have well over 40 martyria strewn about Cappadocia. Yet all of them received their due veneration. Even relics of dubious pedigrees could hold potency if they were but accepted.

One of the most important relics in Late Antiquity was an icon 'not made by human hands' (*acheiropoietos*) worshipped in central Cappadocia at the village of Kamouliana, about 20 km NNE of Caesarea. According to the sixth-century historian Zachariah of Mytilene, a woman named Hypatia found an image of Christ on linen floating in her garden fountain. Hypatia built a church in which the miraculous picture was venerated and, as Zachariah relates, the Kamouliana icon

was miraculously copied and the two resulting images were taken to Caesarea in Cappadocia and Dioboulion near Amaseia. The icon clearly drew considerable attention and was widely revered, so that the image was taken to Constantinople during the reign of Justin II. According to Kedrenos, the Kamoulia icon arrived in Constantinople along with a piece of the True Cross from Apamea in Syria, no doubt with great fanfare. Another *acheiropoietos* icon copy surfaced at Melitene, which was also conducted to the capital by Herakleios. One of these divinely produced icons became a battle standard carried into war against the Persians during the emperor's counter-attack of the 620s. With few Cappadocian saints of sufficient stature to compete with the holy places of the Levant, the miraculous appearance of a passel of *acheiropoietos* icons was fortuitous indeed, providing travellers on the route from Melitene to Constantinople ample opportunity to stay and worship at these newly established shrines until their removal to the capital.¹⁰⁶

The archaeological evidence of pilgrimage for the early period of Byzantine Cappadocia is scant. But at Çavuşin, the Church of St John the Baptist apparently lay at the heart of a late antique pilgrimage complex that housed important relics. Among those precious objects of veneration displayed there was possibly the body of John the Baptist and perhaps also the hand of the local martyr, St Hieron.¹⁰⁷ Clearly such items would have made Çavuşin a major centre of pilgrimage in Anatolia. While the hand of St Hieron may have been at Çavuşin, his body was interred in a tomb in Göreme (Byzantine Matiana) that became the heart of a large Late Antique necropolis. At Caesarea, Bernardakis believed that he viewed the remains of the shrine dedicated to St Julitta about 2 km west of the centre of modern Kayseri and the martyrrium of St Gordios *ca* 1.5 km southwest of the city.¹⁰⁸

The sources are decidedly tight-lipped about Cappadocian holy sites and pilgrimage from about the seventh century until the end of the empire, with only scant details occasionally given. The seventh- or eighth-century homily attributed to Hesychios of Jerusalem (fifth century) mentioned the martyr's shrine of St Longinus, whom tradition held to be the centurion who speared the side of Christ (Mt 27:54).¹⁰⁹ The greatest pilgrimage site of the entire region – the Church of St Basil in Caesarea – remained frequented, receiving such elevated visitors as St Lazaros of Mount Galesion in the late tenth century. Indeed, the draw of Caesarea was sufficient to warrant visitation even during hazardous times, as we see when George Hagiorites the Georgian was nearly captured by Turks in 1059 during his journey.¹¹⁰ Even though the Church of St Basil was laid waste in 1070, it kept attracting pilgrims

long thereafter. And other traditional holy places sustained their draw in the Middle Period. The tombs of St Merkourios and Eupsychios, also at Caesarea, continued their cures, while St Blasios received veneration in his church at Sebasteia with no little fanfare. The myriad other traditional holy sites probably remained destinations to varying degrees over the centuries, but there is no indication given in the sources. The elevation of old sites and the appearance of new places of veneration, however, did not cease. A spring by Cemil (ancient name unknown) became holy or was finally recognized as such, likely associated with restorative powers that ultimately resulted in the foundation of the Archangel Monastery, discussed in Chapter 4. And the aforementioned stylite Niketas garnered sufficient veneration that long after he left his mortal coil his 'column' received the written pleas for healing and salvation that cover the walls of his small church – echoes of the prayers uttered by uncounted pilgrims. More temporary, however, was the tomb of the general Eudokimos (mentioned above), interred in a small village somewhere in Charsianon in the mid ninth century. After the general's aromatic corpse – a sure sign of saintliness – and the lamp oil in the tomb proved efficacious for exorcism as well as miraculously curative to the locals, his mother and a conspiring monk absconded the body to Constantinople where it might receive more popular veneration.¹¹¹

Evident from the translation of the deceased saint-general Eudokimos, these newer Cappadocian holy sites held more of a local draw that rarely attained renown outside of the region. But exceptions did occur. The most successful site for which we have evidence is at Göreme Valley, where the fate of a planned elite settlement area (discussed in Chapter 6) in the mid eleventh century unexpectedly transformed to become a substantial pilgrim destination. The excavation of Çarıklı Kilise – the chapel of the third elite complex slated for the site – was incomplete when two foot-like impressions called the 'Feet of Christ' were revealed.¹¹² Considering the substantial number of Byzantine rock-cut structures in the region, excavators must have been quite proficient at – and jaded by – cutting stone; clearly, the appearance of the 'Feet of Christ' was exceptional. Excavation of the chapel was halted, resulting in an incomplete plan, and a polychromatic decoration was applied by the same high-quality Column Group workshop that did Karanlık Kilise and Elamlı Kilise, discussed in Chapter 4. The Precious or Holy Cross is a primary theme of Çarıklı Kilise's painted decoration, and likely resulted from the appearance of the 'Feet.' To wit, there are no Byzantine painted themes that focus on body parts of Christ, but the Cross was a ubiquitous symbol with clear association to Christ that

could be used to emphasize the relic, which was revered, and nature of the site. Not long after the revelation, Çarıklı Kilise was converted into a monastery, followed by the neighbouring complexes. Indeed, a profusion of churches and refectories soon abounded, all within a few years – as discussed in Chapter 4, the vast majority of these churches belong to either the Column or Yılanlı Group.

The refectories in Göreme Valley could accommodate some 370–475 visitors or celebrants, depending on how close to one's neighbour one was willing to sit, who probably stayed in the neighbouring settlement or camped outside, since there are far too few cavities evident to shelter such numbers. As with other significant holy places, festivals were probably frequent – and the durable tables put to good use. And there is no doubt that Çarıklı Kilise was the primary destination: the number of inscriptions and graffiti reveal an importance or popularity unrivalled in the region. Nor did the renown of Çarıklı Kilise take long to spread. The pilgrim Ignatios left his pious petition in 1055 here as well in the nearby Church of St Catherine (Chapel 21) and Kızlar Kilise (Chapel 17); the deacon George likewise visited Çarıklı Kilise and the Church of St Catherine around the same time. While Ignatios and George might have been local to the region, the pilgrim Michael from Kotiaion, who sought salvation at Çarıklı Kilise, was certainly not. The multitude of invocative graffiti makes it impossible to tell whether the two pilgrims Akakios, monk and priest of Petra (either Smyrna or Lazica), and the self-professed foreign priest and monk Athanasios who left their prayers at the Church of St Catherine in the eleventh century also venerated at Çarıklı Kilise, but the message is clear.¹¹³ Göreme Valley achieved some renown: no church in that little valley was ignored by – or escaped – pilgrims' graffiti. The few pious graffiti and inscriptions preserving dates out of the multitude extant in the valley indicate that pilgrimage and veneration continued to some degree into the mid-twelfth century, well after the fateful Battle of Mantzikert in 1071 heralded the demise of Byzantine Anatolia.¹¹⁴

Indeed, the power of holy places is a formidable one, and the Muslim conquerors of Cappadocia succumbed. Notably, the echoes of the Byzantine world continued to resonate: at Caesarea one found not only the bath built for Caesar and other ancient sites as objects of veneration, but the Church of St Basil and the tombs of Ss Merkourios and Euppsychios continued to attract their crowds. This time, however, the visitors were both Christian and Muslim. New holy places also arose in Caesarea to fulfil Muslim piety, such as the prison of Caliph Ali's son Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiya and the mosque of the eighth-century

warrior al-Battal; nearby was the mountain tomb of Imru'l Kays, the renowned Arab poet. This syncretism and innovation was found throughout Cappadocia. A cave purportedly sheltering martyrs from the seventh century at Tephrike was guarded by a church and a mosque to greet the Christian and Muslim pilgrims; each faith claiming them as their own, of course. And places such as Melitene and Theodosiopolis became associated with cohorts of the Prophet, while Arabissos was one locale that housed the Seven Sleepers. Much later, we see in the eighteenth century a new influx of pious graffiti in Karanlık Kilise at Göreme Valley, and in 1881 the cult of St Mamas revitalized at Mamasun (by Niğde) as a Christian-Muslim movement.¹¹⁵ Such developments inform us not only that the Byzantine religious foundation that permeated the region was profound, but also that holy places could gain and lose popularity. After about seven centuries of Muslim rule over Göreme, the site regained some significance, but this time Çarıklı Kilise was largely ignored in favour of Karanlık Kilise – perhaps owing to the superior painted decorations at the latter. Such fickle whims of fate probably transpired countless times for countless holy places in both Byzantine and Turkish Cappadocia, but the inheritance of Byzantine religion held constant, and Cappadocians continued to venerate as an integral part of their lives.

Part III

6

Elite Society

The marvellous Basil Digenis Akritis, the Frontiersman
of Double Descent,
the delightful blossoming branch of the Cappadocians,
the crown of bravery, the summit of daring,
the joyous and fairest ornament of young men....¹

Digenis Akritis G 7.1–4

Constantinople was the star about which Byzantium revolved, and much like today those in the orbit of the big city looked down upon their more rural and agrarian citizens. From the perspective of the centre, with its deep Greco-Roman inheritance and the cosmopolitanism and snobbery, the uneven melting pot of Cappadocia looked uncomely. The frontier setting, peculiar cultural inheritance, and odd local dialect helped the urbane to nourish a disdainful arrogance about Cappadocia from Late Antiquity forward. The political isolation was evident early. Roman Cappadocia produced no identifiable family of senatorial rank until the second century, a fact that is perhaps due to the dearth of sources but may equally well reflect the position of the region as a relative backwater with shallow Hellenisation and Romanisation of its elite.² With the possible exception of Gordion I (238) and his sons, no Cappadocian is known to have been emperor prior to the sixth century.³

Indeed, the public perception had not improved much over the following four centuries. The thought of anyone assuming the imperial mantle from Cappadocia was inconceivable. Sometime between 578 and 582, on a visit to the Great Oasis in the Western Desert of Egypt, John Moschus met a Cappadocian monk who insisted he would rule the empire one day. 'We said, believe us, *abba*, nobody from Cappadocia ever reigned.'⁴ This maxim did not hold for long – only a

short time later the Cappadocian Maurice (r. 582–602) was enthroned. Maurice's reign arguably marks the beginning of the ascendancy of Cappadocia and Cappadocians to imperial prominence. While earlier in the sixth century, Justinian's detested Praetorian Prefect John the Cappadocian is a clear example of bureaucratic links to the region, the area had not supplied anyone of imperial cloth until Maurice. From the latter's reign until the Battle of Mantzikert (1071), Cappadocia would produce several emperors, some with exceptional military talents. In addition to the possible Cappadocian Phokas (602–10), Herakleios (610–41), Nikephoros I (802–11), Nikephoros II Phokas (963–9), perhaps Romanos III Argyros (1028–34), and Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–71) hailed from the region. To this list could be added John Tzimiskes (969–76), whose family was said to have come from around Tokat, northwest of Sebasteia in the blurry border of Cappadocia and Pontos. In addition, the Middle Period magnate families of the Phokades, the Melissinoi, the Skleroi and others discussed below were famous for their vast estates, military prowess and fractiousness. Their renown not only pervaded the entire empire but spread beyond its borders. While these aforementioned families were born of Byzantium's conflict with the Arabs and the unique historical circumstances it created, there are indications that the Middle Byzantine elite shared much in common with their late antique forebears.⁵

Regional identities remained strong from Late Antiquity all the way until the land was lost entirely. People in the capital felt comfortable making sport of the provincials, and the provincials were happy to use one's place of origin against them. Cappadocians were stereotyped as loutish, greedy, violent and boorish:

Cappadocians are always foul; when, however, they have gotten the belt, they are fouler and for the sake of profit they are foulest.

But if, then, they lay hold of the grand chariot twice or thrice, clearly then straightaway hour by hour they are foulest-on-foulermost.⁶

Things had changed little by the tenth century, when Liutprand of Cremona observed the acclamations of Nikephoros II Phokas and remarked:

How much more accurately might they have sung: "Come, burnt cinder, *melas*, old hag in your walk, elfin in your expression, boor, jungle-wanderer, goat-footed, horned, double-limbed, bristly, wild, bumpkin, barbarian, hard and hairy one, rebel and Cappadocian!"⁷

Despite its loss to the Turks, Cappadocia continued to be remembered as a land of hicks. The twelfth- or thirteenth-century satire *Timarion* is narrated by a Cappadocian who embodies the yokel. Every province attracted some level of disdain in the eyes of the more polished Constantinopolitans but it seems that of the provincials, Cappadocians were especially conspicuous; but one has to be careful not to render an image of them as too distinctive as to not enmesh in Byzantine life.⁸

Undercurrents of Cappadocian society

Cappadocia had been an important satrapy within the Achaemenid Empire, and, as in neighbouring Armenia, Persian customs persisted in some form throughout antiquity and well into the medieval period. There were Persian settlers throughout Cappadocia whose descendents bishop Basil recognised in the fourth century when, in reference to Persian Magi, he spoke of Iranian 'colonists having long ago been introduced to our country from Babylon'.⁹ Their influence was broad and lasting. The divisions of the Hellenistic *strategiae* that followed the Persian administrative subdistricts were areas controlled from strongholds by Persian or Persian-Cappadocian aristocrats and their household troops. In the first century Strabo noted that many of the *strategiae* had no cities, but were ruled from fortresses or *phrouria* (12.2.5). Mazaka, which would become Caesarea, was an open settlement more like an encampment surrounded by the fortified dwellings of the king and the nobility (Strabo 12.2.9).

Cappadocians, like other Anatolian peoples, were eager fighters. The region was a major recruiting ground of the Achaemenid Empire, providing troops that furthered westward Persian expansion as well as soldiers that fought in the conquest of Egypt. The original Iranian elite who settled in Cappadocia were military governors, and their subordinates maintained a strong cavalry tradition; mounted troops were necessary to range over the huge territories each satrap managed. For over two centuries of Achaemenid rule, the descendents of military commanders and their households – and their bellicose tendencies – only reinforced the predilections of the indigenous families among whom competition for land, water, wealth and power was intense. Cicero noted that the priest of the Temple of Enyo/Ma at Komana had ample infantry and horsemen at his disposal and, following the dissolution of Achaemenid authority, violent clashes among the aristocracy were commonplace. The Romans easily exploited clan rivalries to undermine royal authority and corrode the reach of the great temple estates.¹⁰ Following their absorption

by Rome, the region became a prime recruiting ground. Violence also found expression in banditry, which remained a common problem that contributed to the use by elites of private retainers to enforce the peace.¹¹ Indeed in fifth-century Cappadocia, where many farms lay far from cities or garrisons, dwellings often were fortified in response to brigandage and other insecure conditions despite the fact that the region was no longer a frontier (*CJ* 8.10). Some of the redoubts discussed in Chapter 1 harken to this era. In a letter to Amphilochios, bishop of Ikonion, Basil of Caesarea ordered that those who pursued bandits be denied communion and the members of the clergy among such men removed from office. This is a striking reminder of the leadership roles that many clerics assumed in their local communities, even serving as physical defenders. In addition, it is a clear indicator of the ubiquity of banditry, and the inability or unwillingness of the imperial authorities to suppress the robber gangs that ranged over much of Anatolia.¹²

Iranian elements persisted in the sanctuaries of Cappadocia. Besides the estate centres at Komana and Venasa, there were Persian cults at Archelais, Tyana and in Kataonia. At the dormant volcano Ekecik Dağ, 40 km north of Aksaray (Koloneia), a Roman woman dedicated slaves to the temple of the Persian goddess Anaitis. At Archelais, a Roman landowner freed his slaves and named the Persian deities Anaitis, Zeus Thymnasa, and Zeus Pharnaouas; the latter cult apparently deriving its name from a notable local Persian landowner. The temple of Zeus Asbameios at Tyana overlaid Zeus upon the cult of an Iranian horse god. Mitchell links the proposed temple of a horse god (*asb* is horse in Persian) to the nearby giant equestrian estates of the Villa Palmati. Following a rebellion against the crown, the emperor confiscated these lands, whose owner Flavius Palmatius was, quite possibly, the leader of a Cappadocian fifth column that sought to return Iranian rule in Asia Minor; apparently the city of Tyana also itself rose up in support of the Sasanian invasion of Shapur in 260.¹³

Although horse breeding was far older than Persian influence, Iranian speakers shared and enhanced the Cappadocian obsession with bloodlines and purebred steeds during their centuries of control.¹⁴ The emphasis on bloodlines in horses also reflected well familial identity, intensifying the Persian awareness of family lines. The Cappadocian kingdom's royal family traced its ancestry to the Achaemenids, like Armenia, and until the end bore Iranian names. Iranian names likewise survived among well-born Cappadocians, such as Araxios, who held various offices and became vicar in 353/4, possibly of Pontos.¹⁵ The *Expositio Totius Mundi* twice mentions the nobility or eminence of

the Cappadocian people (IX.264–5; IX.281–3), suggesting that Persian heritage and familial identity were especially pronounced.

The Cappadocian love of horses was particularly marked and, as noted in chapter 3, their land was long noted for some of the best stock in the ancient world. Horse breeding is complementary to racing and hunting, so it is little wonder that Cappadocian *possessores*, like most Roman and Byzantine great landowners, loved the hunt. And when much of the late antique empire was dominated by men of humble origin, elite Cappadocians remained concerned with their blueblood backgrounds; the recognition of blood descent seemingly more important than elsewhere in the empire. The Cappadocian Fathers were certainly conscious of one's breeding, alluding to the various well-born (*eugeneia*); such concerns carried their echoes into the epic *Digenis Akritis*, where the nobility of ancestors and lines of descent are encountered and seemingly reinforce the present nobility of characters. Theophanes Continuatus recognised the signs of *eugeneia* as physical beauty, nobility, and valour, and used them as the reason that the Argyroi – one of the oldest surnamed families – received their name. The family's wealth and whence it came (see Chapter 7) were inconsequential to Theophanes by comparison.¹⁶

The deep-rooted local culture, heavily shaped by Persian influences, of Cappadocia unfolded in a land of few cities and wide open ranges. The disparate elite, located in their fortified centres, roamed over the terrain with armed retainers that served as private armies, preying upon those weaker and clashing against one another to expand their holdings. The elite obsessed on hunting and horse rearing just as much as they did on familial relations. Bloodlines and descent were the basis of their identity and legacy, which led to a society that looked back as much as it looked forward and adhered strongly to tradition. The horse and warrior culture that pervaded Cappadocia meant that it was rife with fractiousness; physical power and audacity were more than equal to written law. In this society, might made right, and the inability of Alexander the Great to exert lasting control over Cappadocia meant that Hellenism spread late and unevenly. It was this foundation upon which Rome installed itself, by annexation that left many old families in place and too few colonies to dislodge fully the old culture. Rome tried to mould an ethos centuries old and in many ways equally as powerful. The acculturation process that ensued was slow, with both cultures insinuating themselves but neither fully victorious. For this reason, Cappadocian elites of Late Antiquity had several habits that made them distinctive within the empire.

Cappadocian society during Late Antiquity

Since many aspects of elite life, including the private economy, social relations, and culture have been dealt with by others, we restrict this discussion to several salient features of elite life and wealth.¹⁷ Wealth was fundamental, as it was everywhere, but the openly fractious and competitive nature of the Cappadocian elite made it especially so. Basil of Caesarea noted that 'wealth assured reputation'. The stakes were high. Well-born people parted from their riches joined the ranks of the *ptochoi*, the poor who had fallen from wealth; ignominy attended and extinction of the family followed.¹⁸ The affluence that elites generated was a critical component of prestige, the waters in which the best fishes swam. One needed status to build networks, strings of debt and influence to those above and below, the soft-power of the ancient world in which families and friends worked as advocates and in turn accumulated a complex range of favours. There is little need to discuss in-depth clientage, which in Cappadocia, as everywhere in the late antique empire, framed most social relationships. Various grades of elites formed the nucleus of kin and friend groups connected through a core personage or family. Among the best Cappadocian examples were the Cappadocian Fathers themselves, patrons of the church, but in many ways clients of various powerful secular authorities, with whom they cultivated personal and professional links. In the most common, traditional system of patronage, high-status Romans assumed protection over tenants occupying their property, as well as those connected with the operation of their household and businesses. Obviously there were numerous and complicated threads of clientage throughout the empire; the fluidity of the practice and its ability to articulate new relations was key to its long survival. As bishop, Basil was a natural patron for ecclesiastics in his territory, and in this role we see him reaching out in turn to an unknown powerful person for protection (*prostasia*) for the monk Hera; yet he also lobbied successfully for the appointment of Helpidius to the governorship.¹⁹ Thus, we see Gregory of Nazianzos speaking of Athanasius as patron of the poor (*in laudem Athenasii* 33.1093) and he praised his brother Caesarius for his *prostasia* on behalf of his family (*Funebris in laudem Caesarii fratris oratio* 11). The fifth-century bishop of Caesarea Firmos appealed to Helladios, a *vir magnificentissimus* dwelling at Caesarea, in order to secure his favour and protect the city from the billeting and traversing of troops.²⁰ In Late Antiquity, then, with the ascent of the church and enrichment of the soldiery and the imperial mandarins in both Constantinople and the provinces, a new string of

allegiances, many subversive to the old order, displaced certain older norms of patronage.

The famous case of Libanios – oft-discussed in the secondary literature, but worth discussing once again in the context of neighbouring Cappadocia – echoes that which his former students Basil and Gregory of Nazianzos depict. In his oration *On Patronage (Peri ton Prostaton)*, the rhetorician described how independent village smallholders engaged local soldiers to intimidate the city tax collectors, creating a shortfall which the councillors had to make good. The ruin of Libanios' peers, the enrichment and overbearing attitude of soldiers and their officers, and the initiative of the villagers who overturned established custom were, to a man like Libanios, abhorrent. He further noted that villages owned by elite landholders – using his own Jewish village as an example – of farmers who exchanged the owner of the land, to whom they owed their clientage under old custom, to soldiers that intimidated and abused the rightful owners when they tried to collect taxes and rents.²¹ The owners then are forced to sell their estates in unfavourable terms, profiting the officeholders who stand behind them. These men clearly have the protection of the governor, who is inefficient and who Libanios states occupies the citadel with his bodyguard (*doruphoroi*) and then exercises tyranny. The insertion of a new group of middlemen and the cutting off of rightful owners was accompanied in other instances by abuses against private citizens great and small and through their appropriation and abuses of city property.

The experience of Libanios underscores the centrality of patronage to elite life. It further accents the dynamic – by the fourth century well underway throughout the eastern provinces – that created the vital transfer of *prostatia* to an ascendant group of civil officials who used the force of local soldiers to displace a portion of the old order. The shift marked considerable changes in the political and cultural landscape, with particular ramifications for cities, whose complexion was forever altered. As the new men vied with the established aristocratic families, the competition for land and influence often turned bloody. The produce of the fields was seized, rents intercepted, 'gifts' demanded, and finally the land itself prized from its owners through forced sale. Unlike previous landowners, the new possessors are characterized as extremely aggressive and bent on profit in a way that their conservative contemporaries found unseemly and even dangerous – something with which Cappadocia had long been familiar.

As everywhere else in the empire, the foundation of most of Cappadocia's wealthy was the land. 'You have such vast tracts of arable

land, and other lands planted with fruit trees, mountain-land, land on the plains, woodland, riparian lands, and meadows. What more do you want after that?'²² Moralising and exaggerating aside, Basil's sermon sheds light on great landholders who sought holdings in different places, and lands of different types with specialised uses that allowed them to satisfy their domestic needs, fill niches in the market, and diversify risk. Three major cash contributors to the lifestyle of the rich against whom the Cappadocia Fathers railed were grain, horses, and wool. Basil preached an entire sermon (*in Divites*) in which, parallel to the rich man in Luke's Gospel challenged by Jesus, the bishop implored his hearers to open their storehouses and distribute food and money to the needy. One of the principal ways to render grain farming (which generally offered mediocre returns) lucrative was through hoarding and later selling in the midst of food shortage, a practice as illegal as it was ubiquitous. Hoarding was a principal strategy of landowners everywhere, and Cappadocia was no exception.

Gregory of Nazianzos deplored such behaviour; his use of Joseph as a contrast to the wretched actions of locals may imply criticism not only of private elites, but also government officials who abused the public granaries. The wealth accumulated from selling during shortages was, says Gregory, the treasure 'of robbers, tyrants, and thieves' who spread out over the plains and mountains. Such people robbed the poor of their portion of the land. Gregory went on to note the main acquisition mechanisms of the privileged: theft, terror, and usury stood alongside the seizure of mortgaged property as common routes to obtain land.²³ The greedy man, said Basil, was a bad neighbour in the city and a bad neighbour in the country.²⁴ The bishop likewise paints a lurid picture of the acquisitiveness of the great landowners, some of whom are nouveaux riches (*neoploutoi*) and, in all likelihood, imperial 'new men' – officials whose salaries and influence gained them extensive holdings in the provinces. This phenomenon of the rise of the late antique bureaucratic rural gentry is best documented in Egypt.²⁵ Basil repeatedly stressed that such men resorted to violence to have their way and expanded their holdings at the expense of those around them. The greedy man yoked the oxen, ploughed land, and sowed what was not his. Those who resisted were beaten, hounded in court, or imprisoned, their lives in jeopardy.²⁶

Physical exertion of elite will often manifested through armed household retainers, which had always been present in Cappadocia but became increasingly common in the Roman world from the fourth century. Libanios noted such *boukellarioi* guarding the person of the governor of Syria Prima; a practice widely emulated by private

landowners.²⁷ Basil of Caesarea noted that some deposed Galatian bishops travelled with personal armed guards (*dorouphoi*). It was a small step from armed guard to strong-man, a role often called upon in seizing others' lands and pressing those weaker. Slaves too could be used for such purposes, and even menaced bishop Basil.²⁸ There can be little doubt that such men, both untrained armed slaves and peasants, stood alongside professional, personal soldiers as one of the salient features of the late antique elite life.

As with their peers throughout the empire, via the fruits of inherited wealth or licit or illicitly amassed riches, the provincial elites of late antique Cappadocia enjoyed an exuberant public display of wealth. Allusions to ostentation are commonplace in early Christian writings, a tradition that began with Paul and continued through Clement of Alexandria (d. 215?) who spent his last days in Cappadocia. The Cappadocian fathers trotted out the usual bromides about elite pastimes – expensive finery, hunting, and ownership of numerous properties. Alongside equestrian activities and the chase, letter writing formed another important elite pastime and mode of expression. Epistles were often strictly utilitarian – the Cappadocian Fathers often needed to ask influential bureaucrats and clergy for favour and support. But letter writing also provided an opportunity to forge deep interpersonal relationships or to indulge the writer and reader in flourishes of biblical or classical knowledge. Personal libraries, restricted to a narrow group of wealthy intellectuals, fuelled such writings as well as served as status symbols – sometimes gaining fame at a price. The library of the Cappadocian Georgios (who was later bishop of Alexandria) had extensive holdings of pagan and Christian literature, which the emperor Julian confiscated and destroyed or dispersed, despite his having once been the beneficiary of those very books.²⁹ Cappadocians also were fond of feasting, and their extravagant dinners and parties earned the opprobrium of the moralist Cappadocian Fathers, who also decried the predilection of well-off Cappadocians for hosting raucous parties where lewd and lascivious conduct took place, and where heavy drinking and table-talk discussion formed the centrepiece of socialising. Worldly comfort was usually a secondary concern, the prime motivators being those of all ambitious Roman families – the continuation of the line and the persistence of their fame and prosperity.

Women

Women were often singled out for their love of ostentation and were familiar targets of preachers and, once more, Cappadocia witnessed the

same sort of gendered roles and prejudices that prevailed throughout Byzantium. Women were to be pious, efficient in the home, and thrifty.³⁰ In the main, the lot of Cappadocian women was the same as their peers throughout the provinces, and since the study of Byzantine women is an active field with a growing body of literature, the following discussion attempts to build up a general picture. Because the feminine gender was regarded by Romans as inferior to the masculine, women were formally (by law) and informally (socially) disadvantaged and limited in their ability to live as they chose. Christianity continued to reinforce patriarchal dominance, but ordinary women established roles for themselves inside the formal ecclesiastical hierarchy, where they were barred from all but the office of deaconess. In the monastic church, however, women sometimes gained more autonomy for themselves. An early champion of women's monasticism was, of course, the Cappadocian Makrina, and although her model of the double-monastery eventually faded, she exerted tremendous spiritual influence over her brothers and established a thriving and important religious community.

As elsewhere in Greco-Roman antiquity, women depended on male relatives, and barring these, male representatives of the state, a point well-illustrated in Cappadocia by an anecdote contained in Gregory's funeral oration (*Or.* 43) for Basil. When an assessor attempted to force an unnamed, recently-widowed woman into an unwanted marriage, she resisted by seeking (successfully) the patronage of Basil. Although her fate was determined by males, for whom she was an active symbol used for various ends, the elite woman succeeded in remaining single and, as a widow, arguably in the best possible legal situation a Roman woman could occupy.

Generally women were veiled or wore head coverings. Strict segregation of the sexes was desired but impossible to achieve for poor urban working women and peasant women. In wealthy households, women were sequestered in the women's quarters (*gynaikonitis*) with their maidservants and often with eunuch attendants as well.³¹ Women of good reputation could not travel alone; they required a relative or a hired chaperone to protect their virtue on the busy roads and in the inns that hosted all forms of vice.

Poorer women who worked in the fields and helped to tend flocks, and those who laboured in city markets or kept taverns, had much more opportunity to interact with both men and women.³² Although the workers known from the imperial vestment *fabricae* (*gynaikeion*) in Caesarea were men, spinning wool was work restricted to women; they

would have been needed in large numbers to process the tremendous quantities of Cappadocian wool. These cloth workers may well be the women whom Gregory describes (*Or.* 43) arming themselves with pins and joining the ranks of the arms and cloth workmen who rioted on behalf of Basil when he faced deposition at the hands of the Praetorian Prefect Modestos.

Elite women in particular were targeted for their extravagance, love of fine clothing, jewellery, and artistic objects. They were roundly attacked for all of these by men like Chrysostom and, despite the clichés which obviously abound in such chastisement, there is little doubt that display required to signal one's superior position further expressed itself in rivalries of accoutrement. Cappadocian elite females of the Middle Period were no less fashionable than their late antique predecessors.³³ Depictions found in rock-cut donor paintings display colourful and seemingly expensive gowns, sometimes monochromatic in hue and sometimes adorned with embroidery and cuffs. Regard for modesty meant that women's garments were generally longer, approaching if not covering their clad feet. Veils too, like one seen at Yusuf Koç, remained common, but women of the upper orders could go without at least in certain settings. The wife of Michael Skepides is depicted with an open-faced hat whose design suggests that when the need arose, a veil could be formed from a long stretch of cloth otherwise left draping back over the shoulder. Scarves and shawls seen in other paintings probably were used to the same effect.

The general status of women did not change from Late Antiquity, and they kept their traditional occupations. They were also inherently condemned for their marriage potential. Cappadocian women had long been noted for their beauty, and some were absconded for brides, as was done by Digenis' father (4.43–4).³⁴ More usually, however, women were the glue that bound family alliances – the tool that ensured future success. Such alliances were constantly sought and no trivial affair; unsuccessful attempts could engender serious ramifications. The *basileopater* Zautzes recognised the standing and ascendance of Nikephoros Phokas the Elder, to whom he attempted to marry his daughter Zoe. Upon Nikephoros' refusal, for political reasons, Zautzes trumped up charges and had Nikephoros dismissed from command.³⁵ The genealogical tables by Cheynet further illustrate the importance placed on marital alliances; it is not much of a stretch to say every major eastern family by the Middle Period was ultimately related to the other through marriage, and one imagines a similar situation for more middle tiers.³⁶ The success of marital alliances could be long lived, such

as the enduring and close relationship of the Maleinoi and Phokades, but they could not always overcome deeply opposed family agendas, such as embodied in the failed attempt at a marriage alliance between the Phokades and Skleroi. Behind every family alliance was a woman resigned to her fate; if she was lucky, she would also be in love.

This is not to say that elite women, in particular, were powerless. As widows, they sometimes became heirs to not insignificant wealth and power. Simplicia, whose slaves so enraged Basil of Caesarea, is a local example of respectable affluence. In the eleventh century, Symbatios Pakourianos' wife Kale retained formidable affluence despite the foundation of his monastery.³⁷ The likes of Olympias and Melania, who owned widely distributed properties including in Cappadocia Prima, were probably of a higher order. Their counterpart in the Macedonian era, the ninth-century Danelis – extravagantly borne into Constantinople upon a litter by slaves to see Basil I – shows that women could ably command the greatest provincial fortunes and warrant the deference of the emperor. Danelis owned weaving factories, among other things including 80 estates, and, along with the trade ship of Theodora that so enraged Theophilos, reveals that women could be consummate mercantilists.³⁸ Rare encounters of titles such as *spatharina* inform that those of the highest families could also hold their own dignities, while the empresses Irene and Zoe represent the highest elevation that any mortal could attain; such women were as capable, ambitious, and ruthless as any man.

Medieval Cappadocian women also had their own funds, or at least discretionary command over family monies, and their expenditures are most often seen through the remnants of their religious foundations. Eudokia, Michael Skepides' mother, founded the church Çanavar at Soğanlı Dere when her daughter entered the nunhood; there is no mention of Eudokia's husband, although his depiction at Karabaş Kilise indicates he was alive after the inception of Çanavar. Other female founders such as Demna (Church of St John at Güllü Dere), another Eudokia (St Daniel; Göreme Chapel 10), and Sophia (unnamed church near Ürgüp) suggest that women played their own individual and significant roles in founding churches, equal participants in pious expression. The thirteenth-century Lady Tamar proudly announces in her inscription that she bought the vineyard that she gives to the Church of St George, which she founded.³⁹ Ultimately, the way women lived their lives and fulfilled their roles was their legacy, which was summarised in the same way as men: 'Here lies the servant of God Irene, who is distinguished by a good (perfect) life.'⁴⁰

The elite centre

Elite men and women managed their affairs from the nucleus of family homes. The elite estate centre was the hub of patron and client interaction, the management centre for the master's and mistress' scattered estates, and a social sphere in which he or she entertained peers and superiors and certain inferiors. It was the fundamental nexus in which families were raised, alliances and networks fostered, finery held, letters written, wealth accumulated, and libraries and a miscellany of treasures secured. The estate centre also served as headquarters for revolution, wherein plans were hatched and preparations made, such as transpired for Prokopios' ill-fated campaign (see Chapter 7). Conversely, it could be a holding pen used to sideline potential troublemakers, such as when Leo Phokas was 'requested' to sit quietly away from the machinations of Romanos I.⁴¹

There was, of course, great variety in elite residences in terms of design and function. The pleasure villa, merchant palace, and summer retreat all had their place, but due to the general state of evidence, both in and outside Cappadocia, we know little about late antique and later Byzantine elite residential architecture and typically cannot identify the specific function of the residence or its owner. Terminology also presents a problem: palace, villa, *proasteion*, *oikos*, and so on, are imprecise, often were interchangeable, and sometimes could refer either to a secular or religious foundation.⁴² For this discussion we generally prefer 'elite complex' or 'elite centre' to allow latitude in interpretation without an implied function when the evidence or context is unclear. The precise evolution of Byzantine elite residential architecture will always be poorly understood, but certain trends and common architectural characteristics can be identified. From about the late third century houses of the provincial elite increasingly incorporated private audience chambers in the form of a large (often apsidal) room preceded by a vestibule accessible through the main door from the street or road.⁴³ In the western portions of the Byzantine world, such elite residences could be quite grandiose, exemplified by the Piazza Armerina.⁴⁴ In the eastern portions of the empire, including Cappadocia, elite abodes typically were smaller and more conservative but still contained some form of audience hall preceded by a vestibule.

By the later fourth century it was probably more common than not to have a church, possibly with a mausoleum, associated with an elite complex in Cappadocia. Gregory of Nyssa's description of the Cappadocian residence of Adelphios, around Avanos (Venasa), mentions a church

under construction in front of the residence. Gregory confirms that the residence also had the expected architectural arrangement of a courtyard, a vestibule and a reception hall. Interestingly, the residence of Adelfios might have been fortified or perhaps contained decorative turrets; the text is unclear in this regard.⁴⁵ Be that as it may, fortification was not a requisite for the late antique provincial elite complex. But a unified arrangement of the courtyard, vestibule, and reception hall was becoming almost as expected as the trappings of the well-appointed house, such as frescoes, imported marble and fine wall cloths.⁴⁶ The pomp and circumstance related to the receptions and audiences held in this architectural arrangement were important facets to the provincial elite life, continuing and expanding on the deep tradition of the patron-client relationship and concomitant prestige.⁴⁷ Of course, impressing one's peers was vitally important too.

In Late Antiquity many who could afford a grand abode in regional cities probably did so – a habit replaced by the ownership of properties in and around Constantinople during the Middle Period. Throughout the Byzantine era, the privileged of Cappadocia maintained country estates. It can be inferred that by the fourth century elite complexes were widespread throughout much of the Cappadocian countryside. Basil's *Epistle* 88 to an imperial official reveals that a special tax levy was incomplete because the curials were at their country estates, a fact the official knew well.⁴⁸ Elite complexes situated in the countryside often were, or became, primary family centres or bases rather than just secondary or unimportant holdings. The third-century epitaph of the eunuch Euphrates indicates the burial of an important personage; Euphrates was born in Armenia 'but the land of the Cappadocians raised' him.⁴⁹ More likely than not, Euphrates had been sold by his Armenian parents to become a eunuch – a well known practice – and thereby gain the opportunity to ascend the social ladder. Eunuchs often served special and important roles in Byzantine society, and the semi-metrical line and imported vocabulary on the epitaph of imported marble confirm an individual educated, relatively cultured, and of some financial means. Euphrates succeeded in attaining elevated status, perhaps making it to the capital. Ultimately, however, he was buried on the site of his estate where he considered home.

Less than 3 km away from where Euphrates was buried, and not too far from Adelfios' estate, stands the sixth-century elite centre called Saray ('Palace') or Belha Kilise near Özkonak (ancient Genezin); it is also frequently but incorrectly referred to as 'Monastery'.⁵⁰ Saray-Belha Kilise (Figure 6.1) is situated about 10 km north of Avanos and is the earliest extant elite centre known in Cappadocia.⁵¹ Due to its importance as an

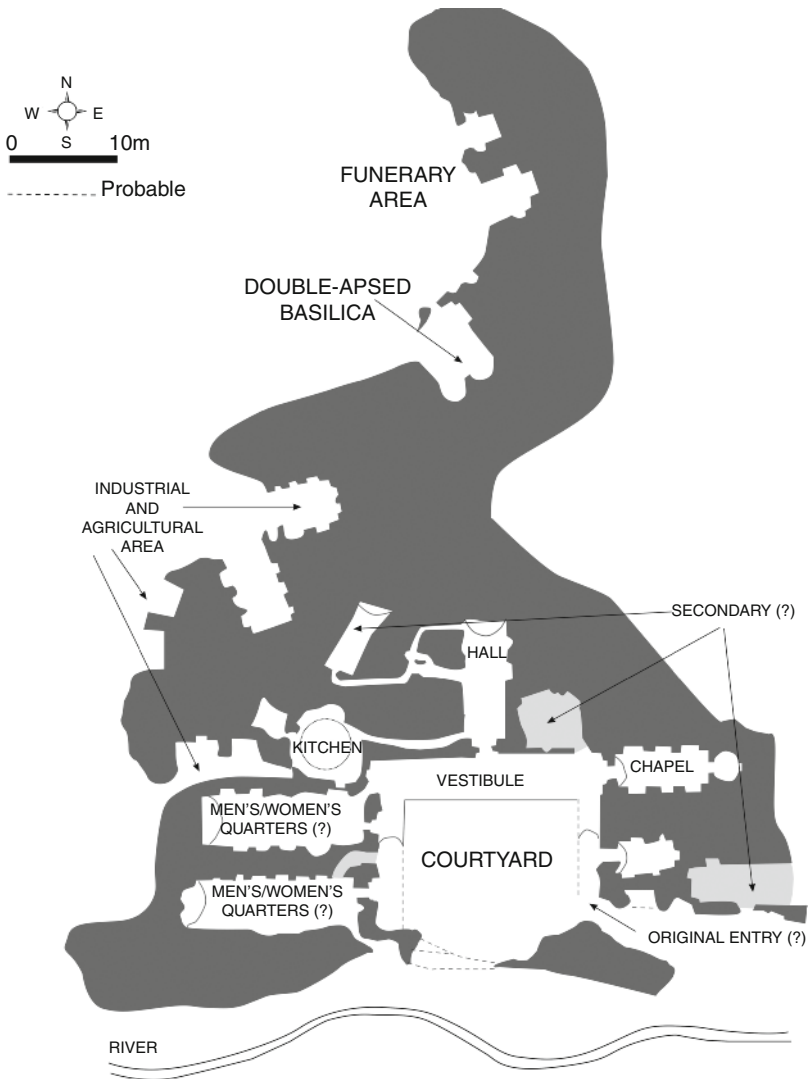


Figure 6.1 Saray-Behla Kilise

exemplar of a late antique rock-cut elite dwelling and a prototype for following eras, we must examine this centre more closely.

The complex is fronted with a courtyard, though erosion has largely obliterated the southern boundary. Originally the courtyard was an enclosed square, with the meagre evidence for the southern portion

suggesting that this side either housed very small chambers or none at all. Entry into the courtyard probably was in the southeastern corner, where the topography created a natural opening that has a path through it; preceding the entry is an elongated chamber, extremely altered by secondary modification, that might have served as a stable. The three surviving sides of the courtyard are delineated by walls cut into the hill, giving access to various chambers. The northern side of the courtyard contains the monumental entrance into the majority of the complex, where the heavily eroded facade preserves evidence of sizeable doorways and traces of carved detailing; the northern facade serves as the outer wall to a vestibule running the span of and parallel with it (that is, east-west). Centred to the vestibule is a perpendicularly aligned reception hall (running north-south). The entry to this hall is a tall door surmounted by an arcuated window, which presented an impressive approach that helped illuminate the interior.

The eastern portion of the vestibule contains an irregular room that seems secondary, and whose purpose at any rate is unclear. The far eastern corner of the vestibule communicates with a single-aisle basilica chapel about 8 m long and 3 wide. The northern and southern walls of the nave are deeply cut blind arcades, surmounted by a register broken up by regularly spaced low-relief engaged pilasters. Traces of a few carved blind windows in the upper register are discernable, but overlying detritus on the register's surface makes the exact number and spacing of them open questions. South of the chapel is a smaller chamber, whose purpose is unclear, that was accessed from the eastern leg of the courtyard.

The western side of the courtyard wall permits entry into two parallel rectangular rooms running east-west. Both chambers are sizeable, measuring perhaps 11 m long and 4 wide. Considerable deposition obscures the original ground level, but apparently both halls were lined with blind colonnades running almost the entirety of their long walls. Accounting for probable secondary excavation, each chamber had only one entrance that communicated to the western facade. The two halls probably served as separate living spaces for the men and women of the household.

There is substantial secondary excavation to many parts of the site, but the kitchen located on the second storey above the western end of the vestibule belonged to the original complex: a vaulted tunnel, which argues against secondary excavation, connects the kitchen to the main reception hall. The second level contains several other chambers, mostly of smaller dimensions, that were part of the original site. The condition

of the remains prevents certainty, but it appears that the upper-storey rooms were not connected with each other internally, and seem suited for servants' quarters, storage, and utility functions.

Carved into the same hill formation, located higher up the western side of the slope, is a rudimentary courtyard with two adjoining stables (each with multiple mangers) and smaller square recesses probably for storage or workspace associated nearby. The purpose of this entire arrangement appears agricultural and industrial. At the northwestern extreme of the hill formation are the remains of a double-apsed basilica; the northern apse was probably for normal liturgical practice and the southern one for funerary purposes much like similar churches found in the region, for example Yusuf Koç. Two associated sepulchres are found just to the north.

About 100 m to the west is another, smaller, hill formation comprised of four connected rock-cut chambers, including a kitchen, with another chamber now eroded to about 4 by 4 m that was probably originally rectangular in shape. Although lacking the level of carved decoration of the main complex, the quality of excavation is high. The context of this arrangement is unclear. It could represent a separate habitat, or it may be the abode of higher-level retainers. The execution of excavation and extant carved decoration argues strongly against an owner of low status.

The monumentality of the whole main complex is impressive. Dimensions of rooms are generally large, for example the reception hall is about 11 by 4 m, but it is the height of everything that is truly impressive, with major rooms, the chapel, and the vestibule some 6.5–7.5 m tall and generally capped with barrel vaulted ceilings. Carved decorations, mostly faux architectural elements such as mouldings and columns, adorn much of the lower storey of the complex adding to its monumentality. The rooms on the second storey are notably less tall and not as elaborately adorned with carved decoration. These upper chambers, however, were not visible or directly accessible from the courtyard or monumental portion of the complex. The overall floor arrangement shows an intentional separation of the elite monumental dwelling and reception area from that of the servants' quarters and utilitarian rooms. The kitchen was situated so as to remove it from notice, but allow timely and convenient delivery of food to the main hall.

The location of the agricultural and industrial area meant that it would not disturb the sensibilities of a guest, yet was ideally suited to capitalise on the river just to the south of the site and the resulting small plain enriched by alluvium. A cistern nearby probably served for drinking water for labourers and for irrigation. The funerary church

and associated sepulchres appear oddly located at first glance. However, they were probably created a generation or two after the rest of the complex. Demesnil's study of the carved decorations confirms that the elite centre and funerary church belong to the sixth century, and seem associated.⁵² The chapel in the complex was ill-designed and situated to accommodate more burials; subsequent generations would have needed additional provisions. Accounting for topography and the need to orient the apses towards the east, the location chosen was the only viable option.

Considerable attention was given to the design of Saray-Belha Kilise, and the dearth of a refectory assures that it was an elite complex. There are two critical points to recognize about Saray-Belha Kilise. First is the architectural arrangement of a delineated courtyard with monumental facade that communicates directly with a vestibule, which in turn connects to a perpendicularly aligned hall or reception room. The scheme was intentional and designed as an integral unit. Indeed, the arrangement is similar to the description of the residence of Adelfios and is also analogous to excavated late antique elite residences found elsewhere in the empire such as Portus Magnus.⁵³ This specific arrangement of courtyard, facade, vestibule, and perpendicular hall is an identifiable elite residential feature as well as a template for Cappadocian Byzantine elite complexes regardless of date. There is an associated chapel on the eastern side of the complex. The chapel arrangement, although important, is not so formally established. Adelfios had the chapel in front of his residence, and some other late antique complexes outside of Cappadocia apparently did not have a chapel at all.

Second, Saray-Belha Kilise is rock-cut rather than built. The condition of the site obscures whether there were any built structures associated with the complex, though if there were they were outside the main elite residential portion. The local denizens, steeped in a long tradition of rock-cut architecture, would not have given the idea of a rock-cut elite complex a second thought. Rather, it is surprising that we have not found more rock-cut late antique elite complexes in the region. In all probability some elite complexes identified as later structures got their start in Late Antiquity; the durability of rock-cut architecture and the facility of changing decorative schemes in such a complex means that families could have occupied certain sites for centuries before the last decorative phase was executed to give the telltale signs for a date. And of course, the region remains to be explored fully, which may reveal more late antique complexes. However, it is also probable that many elite complexes in Rocky Cappadocia were hybrids, that is, part of the

elite complex was rock-cut and part was built. There are indications of hybrid designs throughout Rocky Cappadocia, including at nearby Özkonak, where subterranean chambers connected to built houses or similar structures. The hybrid design was known elsewhere too. Bulla Regia in Tunisia has four built villas so far uncovered containing fully integrated subterranean sleeping and dining chambers as well as other rooms.⁵⁴ They were used in their present form in the sixth century, and the opulent materials and masterful mosaics argue that money was not a consideration; it was the desire for a cooler environment during the hot summer.

We must also allow for the slower acculturation of the Romanized elite, who lived in grand, *built* estates. With the Roman assumption of Cappadocia, the elite who came in brought with them a well established set of cultural expectations by which they lived. This undoubtedly meant that no self-respecting Roman elite would have a rock-cut abode in the early centuries; Adelfios' fourth-century estate was a constructed one. Over time, profound local traditions and practicalities insinuate themselves, and cultural conservatism slowly yields, blurring *Romanitas*. By the sixth century, Cappadocian elite culture had evolved sufficiently to make the rock-cut centre acceptable enough to use it.

Saray-Belha Kilise looks stark and alone, an empty and crumbling shell, but during its heyday the complex was shockingly different. Evidence suggests the presence of a nearby village, which may have been under the domain of the estate owner in practice if not in name, and the surviving carved decorations hint at a rich interior.⁵⁵ The walls almost certainly had treatments, probably of plaster; later elite complexes in the area preserve small samples of wall plaster, and subterranean chambers in Bulla Regia preserve completely plastered rooms. Surely there were frescoes, although their content may have differed greatly from those mentioned by Gregory of Nyssa at Adelfios' residence. Wall or floor mosaic is less certain. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the fifth-century church at Akhisar reveals that mosaics were used in Cappadocia at the time, and not by only the wealthiest. But the use of mosaic in Byzantine Cappadocia remains poorly understood, whereas it is highly evident that frescoes and painted decoration were common. Floors would have been covered in rugs or carpets if not in mosaic. Moveable furniture was essential too. It had become quite fashionable in Late Antiquity to dine outside in fair weather, and was an important ritual among elite peers. Adelfios treated Gregory of Nyssa to such a banquet. Thus, a table and appropriate accessories were needed. The lack of in-built furniture (carved out of the stone) shows that other necessities such as chairs and

beds and stowage for items and clothes were built objects. While local resources may not have been sufficient to provide much quality building lumber, they were fully capable of supplying wood for household items; local textiles were certainly in no short supply either. And being an elite residence, imported items are reasonable to expect – and more prestigious to display.

Saray-Belha Kilise would have been a bustling centre of activity too. Basil of Caesarea depicts rich houses thronged with a huge array of attendants: managers, overseers, peasants, skilled workers, cooks, bakers, wine-stewards, singers – and many others.⁵⁶ Gregory of Nyssa adds to this list jesters, actors, speakers, dancing girls, and ‘shameless women’.⁵⁷ Many of the staff of the high-status house were slaves, and though we have no firm numbers regarding how many a typical domain might utilise, most slaves were probably household specialists rather than field hands. They could be surprisingly resourceful too. In one instance, a pious slave of the wealthy widow Simplicia was ordained a bishop (apparently a *chorepiskopos*) of a remote district without his owner’s consent.⁵⁸ As throughout most of the east, slaves were generally employed in household chores and agricultural work was largely the province of tenants who could be exploited more efficiently and cheaply.

Cappadocian society during the Dark Ages and Middle Period

The stark paucity of written and archaeological evidence for much of the seventh into the ninth centuries in Cappadocia, and to significant degrees for all of Byzantium, presents a hazy and muddled picture.⁵⁹ The meagre data, however, offer tantalizing hints that the elite continued to inhabit the region to some degree. The Phrygian estates of Philaretos reveal that away from the border, the provincial elite were not so threatened by the Arab razzias, but rather by their neighbours who sought to encroach and absorb each other when opportunity arose.⁶⁰ The sixth-century tombstone belonging to the Botaniates, prominent in the Middle Period, near Synada offers some additional support to the notion of an elite provincial class that managed to survive from Late Antiquity into the Middle Period.⁶¹ The multigenerational sepulchres, in use from the sixth century possibly into the Middle Period, of Saray-Belha Kilise show that provincial elite persisted in rural areas away from the borders in Cappadocia as well.⁶² Closer to the threatened frontiers, the situation was more tenuous, and yet the elite were there. The mining settlements mentioned in Chapter 2 confirm that some level of

habitation continued in even the most contested areas, and occasional discoveries of foundation traces and remains of walls, comprised of spolia, apparently from larger structures or perhaps elite complexes along the Taurus and Antitaurus ranges suggest that some provincial elite tenaciously held their ground when the motivation was sufficient. While many of the provincial magnates died out, vacated troubled areas, or consumed those more vulnerable, some survived and others moved in. Nikephoros I, whose seventh-century Ghassanid ancestors settled in Cappadocia, maintained his family centre there. The provincial elite, however reduced, never disappeared entirely in Cappadocia – and those that did vanish were occasionally replaced by newcomers (see Chapter 7).

The provincial elite of the tenth and eleventh centuries were in many ways remarkably analogous to their predecessors. They voraciously expanded their estates whenever opportunity arose (see Chapter 7), and the wealth of the greatest magnates such as the Phokades and Maleinoi was vast indeed.⁶³ Patron-client relations remained vital; these, if anything, became more important. And pastimes such as hunting, feasting, and letter writing (sometimes secured with personal seals) continued as did reading, the last of which is powerfully evidenced by Eustathios Boilas' library (see below). Slaves were still accumulated, and occasionally manumitted by men like Anthimos mentioned in Chapter 5; servants and tenants remained essential – frequently mentioned in Boilas' will. So too for private retainers (see Chapter 7). The privileged stood out, adorned in a motley of colourful robes, tunics, scarves, hats, and shoes: red, green, purple, yellow, azure and deep blue, rich brown, brilliant white, midnight black, cadet grey – and combinations thereof – are found depicted on various donors' images in the region. Expensive jewellery, and sometimes perfume hat-clasps, accompany the elaborate brocaded robes and extravagantly patterned garments that are depicted.⁶⁴

The provincial elite continued to favour rural estates, which remained the fulcrum of their influence. The extant Middle Period elite centres are found in Rocky Cappadocia and reflect a sense of continuity to the provincial elite from the preceding centuries rather than something entirely new. While scholars have identified what we term the 'classic' elite architectural arrangement as an Islamic cultural import, or alternatively a plan pointing more directly to the tenth-century imperial Myrelaion, the fact that the arrangement is seen fully developed in sixth-century Cappadocia argues that this architectural plan was long-used there. Because Saray-Belha Kilise is relatively unknown, it does not seem to

have been considered.⁶⁵ Indeed, every Middle Period Cappadocian elite complex known to us displays striking affinity to Saray-Belha Kilise. Although variations inevitably occur, they can be largely attributed to the nature of the terrain.

For example, the probable tenth-century rock-cut complex Şahinefendi (Figure 6.2) was fronted by a three-sided courtyard.⁶⁶ The topography made a fully enclosed one impracticable. The monumental northern facade contained the main entry leading to a vestibule with perpendicular hall. The vestibule connects to the east and west to square rooms, probably separate quarters for men and women. The southeastern end of the courtyard led to the chapel, which has a tomb chamber near the entry. The western portion of the complex contains the kitchen. An annex of five connected rooms to the southeast may have been servants' quarters or storage facilities, and a heavily damaged agricultural and industrial area was located down slope a few hundred metres to the southwest. Extensive erosion and damage from rock slides hide further details of the site, but the Church of the Forty Martyrs 500 m

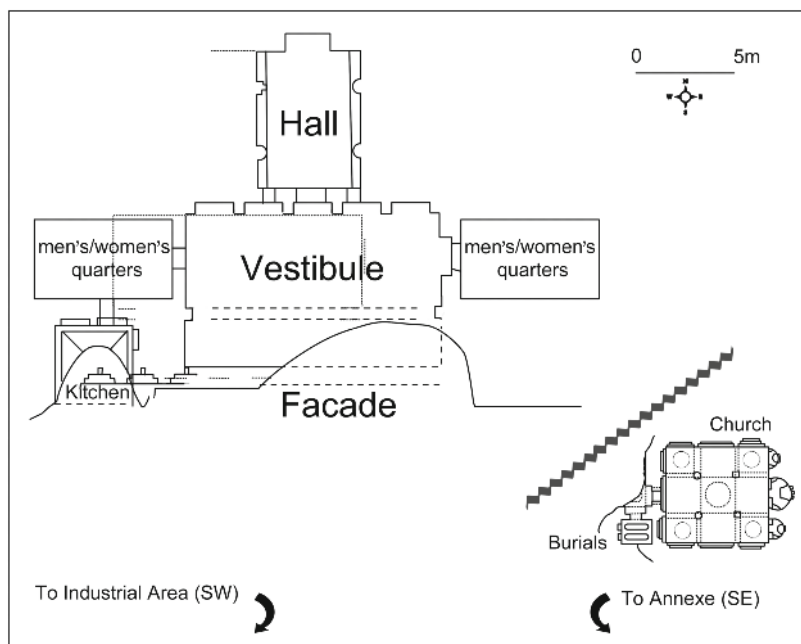


Figure 6.2 Şahinefendi

away indicates that a village was nearby.⁶⁷ There are certainly differences between Şahinefendi and Saray-Belha Kilise, but the constraints of the terrain account for many of them. The principal features of a courtyard, vestibule with attached main hall, rooms for segregated living quarters, kitchen, chapel, and agricultural or industrial area are shared between the two; many of these are found generally located in the same positions within the floor plan, adapted to the terrain.

Şahinefendi is a useful example owing to its simple design, which allows focus on key elements. But many other complexes show notable affinity as well. The members of the 'double-courtyard' type (for example Selime Kalesi), the inverted T-plan (of which Şahinefendi is a member), and the pi-plan (for example the sites at Akhisar) all ultimately show derivation from the same plan from which Saray-Belha Kilise was made. More compact versions are also found. Karabaş Kilise and the incomplete St Barbara (both in Soğanlı Dere), Aynalı Kilise (Göreme Chapel 14), and Açık Saray 2a and 7 lack the vestibule owing to constraints of their respective settings but otherwise bear affinity. Ironically, the 'internal-courtyard' type is least similar in terms of room arrangement. Eski Gümüş (near Niğde) and Güllükkaya Area 8 (in the Peristrema Valley area) have fully enclosed courtyards but lack the consistency of room arrangement seen in the other complexes, except for the juxtaposition of a hall to the chapel at the corner of the courtyard.⁶⁸ They do, however, possess many of the features seen at Saray-Belha Kilise and the other aforementioned elite centres.⁶⁹

It must be emphasised that rock-cut architecture entirely depends on the terrain for the location and orientation of chambers or structures and so forth. Take for example a complex with an internal courtyard, that is, a four-sided courtyard about which rooms were excavated. The preponderance of cone formations, cliff faces, and hills that dominate the landscape were unsuitable by being either too narrow (especially for cones) or too vertically deep (cliffs). This reason alone forced the majority of extant elite complexes to show adapted floor plans, especially for the courtyard. Thus, certain structures and arrangements functioned as a symbolic vocabulary that remained recognisable despite variations and adaptations.⁷⁰ In built contexts such as cities, for which we have no archaeological data, elite residences may have been much more homogeneously designed.

Adding to the complexity of site-selection was existing neighbours. Karabaş and St Barbara complexes in Soğanlı Dere, mentioned above, had to accommodate already existing, dense settlement. Even when neighbours were not already present, they may have had to be

anticipated. Indeed, the Column Group and certain related churches suggest that the bluff above Göreme Valley was intended to be an elite 'neighbourhood' (Figure 6.3). Karanlık Kilise (A) was created in the eastern portion of the cul-de-sac, after which Elamlı Kilise (B) was finished on the western edge opposite and facing it.⁷¹ Then came Çarıklı Kilise (C), again on the eastern side, after which Chapel 16 of Unit 9 (D)

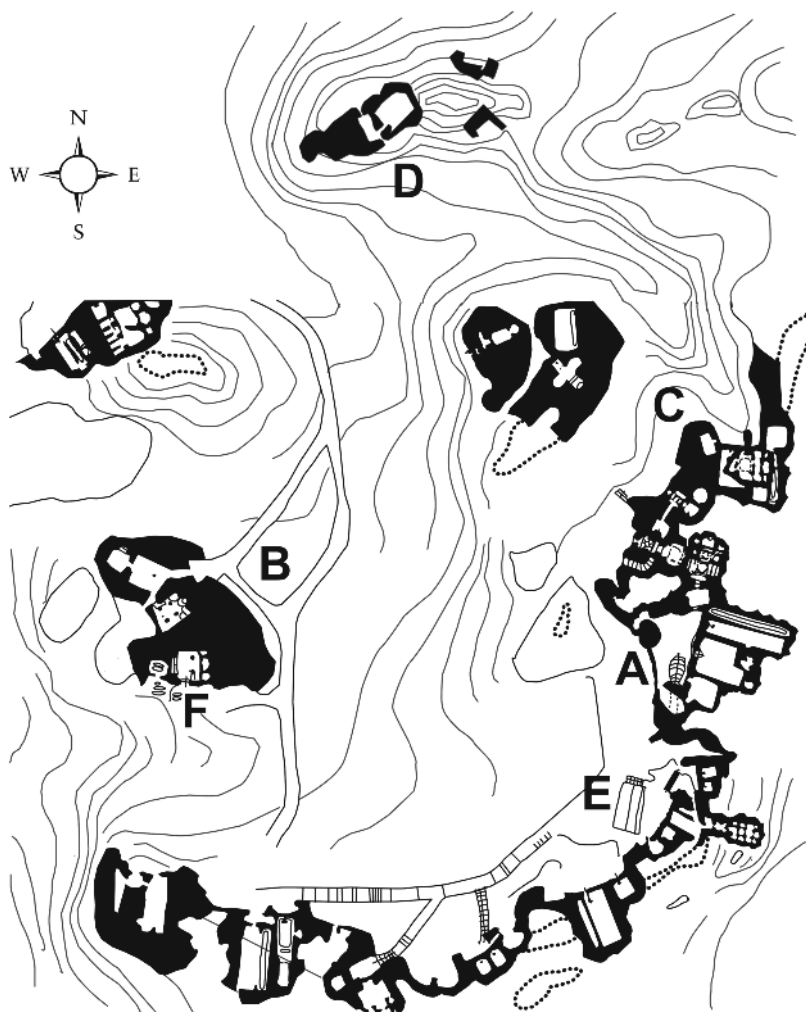


Figure 6.3 Göreme neighbourhood

was emplaced south of and facing Çarıklı.⁷² Chapel 16 does not strictly belong to the Column Group, but the painted decoration style, particularly in the dark outlining of faces and hair, and the combing effect seen in depictions of clothing, displays striking affinity to and awareness of the Column Group presentational style and motif. This back-and-forth pattern is also seen in Chapel 25 of Unit 2 (E) and Chapel 20 (the Church of St Barbara) of Unit 5 (F). In other words, the churches and associated complexes were planned in pairs, the first set in the eastern part of the cul-de-sac elevation and the second one to the west facing the first. For the first four, the church design, layout, and painted decoration all show affinity. The fifth, Chapel 25, was not painted but maintains the architectural style and design. The sixth church, Chapel 20, was started last and directly mimics Çarıklı Kilise's unusual abbreviated form. Since Chapels 16, 25 and 20 have facades that bear some affinity to the characteristic elite facade (discussed below) and have cuttings suggesting further intended associated chambers, it seems that these sites were never completed as elite complexes. Rather, they became monasteries due to the subsequently changed nature of the little half-moon outcrop above the valley. This observation provides valuable insight into how some types of elite estate groupings might have been planned – and the resultant constraints on their respective designs – and the impact a holy site could have.

Regardless of the differences, all elite complexes share in their designs a common goal: to convey status and prestige. For those of sufficient ranking, for example peer guests, recognition and understanding of the floor plan were likely enough. For lessers, such as clients, the floor plan held additional psychological effect. Upon entry of the vestibule from outside, attention immediately is focussed on the doorway to the hall: nearly all elite rock-cut complexes have the entrance to the hall centred to the vestibule and directly in-line with the vestibule entry from outside. Often the vestibule entry was the only source of daylight, which creates a spotlight effect. The carved decoration seen in many of the rock-cut complexes added further emphasis. Tension was created at the entrance to the hall: exiting the vestibule and entering the hall produces a visual shock, the stark contrast of the axial dimensions of vestibule to hall induces an illusion of greater depth while one's eyes adjust. There would have been furnishings, and probably many of them, deliberately placed to accentuate the importance of the owner through a sense of grandeur. Without access to more private areas, there was the implication that the entire complex was similarly designed and decorated. And perhaps it was.

Saray at Erdemli

The extent of floor plan variation that could occur yet remain recognisable and communicate status and prestige is illustrated by the little-known complex called Saray ('palace') in the area of Erdemli.⁷³ Since this treasure has only been mentioned briefly in scholarly literature, it is important here to devote appropriate space to discussing it in its social and historical milieu, as it represents one of the finest surviving achievements of Cappadocian elite architecture. The vast remains of Saray (Figures 6.4–5) rest on the southern side of a little river valley. Substantial erosion has damaged the site extensively, most notable in the collapse of several central- and western-portions of the roof and much of the eastern facade. Nevertheless, this complex is one of the most spectacular in Cappadocia. The natural rock slope rises from east to west, resulting in two storeys of occupation in the eastern part of the complex that progresses upward to reach four levels in the western half. The facade traced similarly, with as many as five main rows or storeys of decorative registers at the western end; it spans about 100 m continuously, and may be the most expansive facade in Cappadocia, still preserving multiple storeys of blind horseshoe-arched niches in horizontal registers, punctuated by engaged pilasters and more substantial looking engaged square columns.

The monumental main entry is a ground-level rectangular door approximately 1.5 by 4 m immediately surmounted by a large horseshoe-arched window-door of similar dimensions (Figure 6.4). A stairway is situated before and to the right (that is, west) of the main entry; it rises from ground level to a landing on the facade, which permits entry into the second level of the complex and also forms part of a parapet that extends some 15 m east past and over the main door. It is this balcony that transforms the large horseshoe-arched window above the ground-level entry into a door that leads into a hall-chamber neighbouring the chapel. This facade parapet appears unique in Cappadocia.

The ground-level main door leads into a rectangular hall approximately 5 m wide by 8 deep (Area 1); the ceiling was a casualty from the collapse of the overlying chapel roof structure, but stood at least 4 m above the original floor.⁷⁴ The walls are decorated with two tiers of blind horseshoe-arched niches in registers; small doorways communicated to rooms east and west of this hall. The southern hall portion has been filled in by debris, obscuring whether another chamber exists deeper in the rock. The chapel (Area 2) is on the second level above this entry hall; it is a double-naved basilica crowned by a central dome and had a narthex at the western end; the entire northern half of the roof has

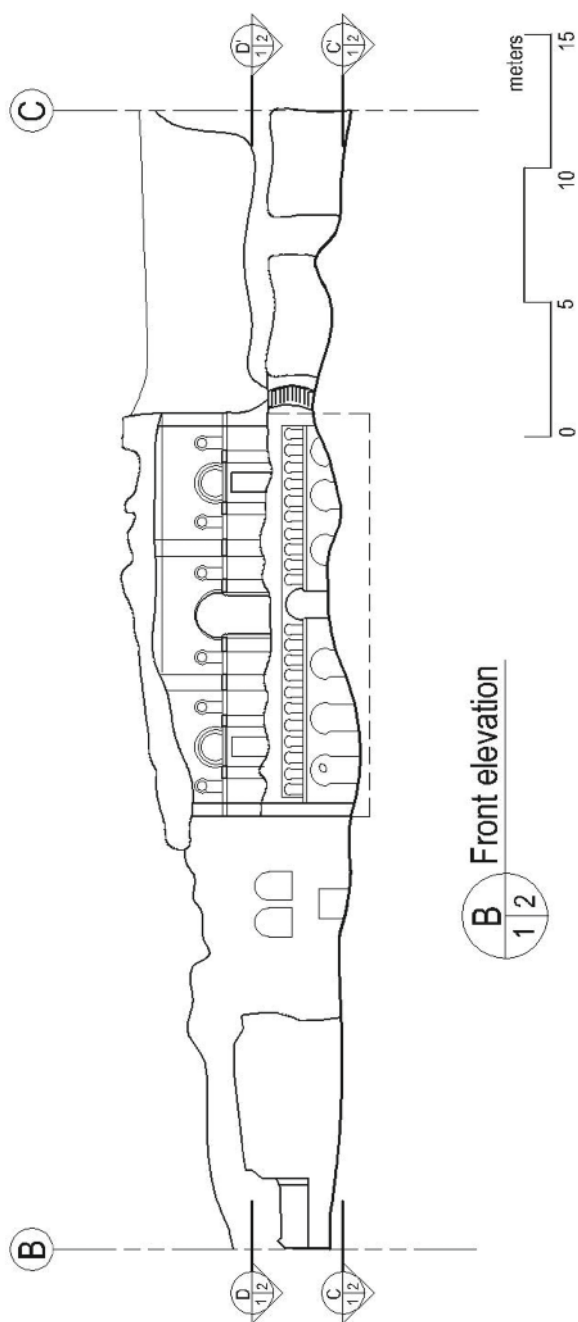


Figure 6.4 Erdemli facade

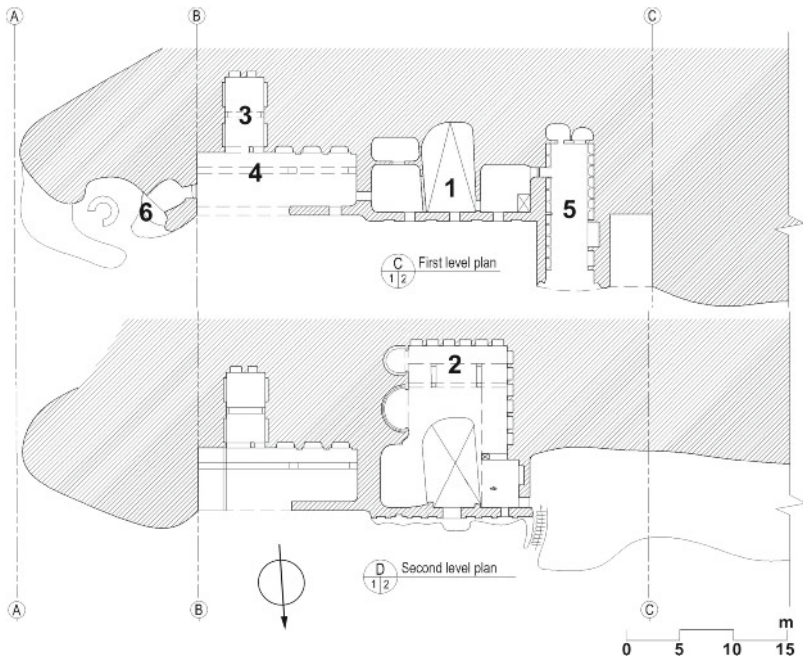


Figure 6.5 Erdemli ground plan

collapsed. The southern nave was a funerary church, with a prominent burial spot near the apse; other primary graves are located in the south-western corner. The northern church portion likely was for normal liturgical use. The entire chapel was decorated with finely carved detail: a tall blind arcade comprises the first register of carving, surviving along the southern and western walls, surmounted by a smaller register of blind horseshoe-arched niches. Faint portions of polychromatic depictions of saints are discernable, but too damaged for identification or precise dating, although they appear to be of the eleventh century. Their varied location and a few small patches of paint suggest the chapel was fully painted.

Despite the monumentality of the main entry ensemble and the expansive western half, the reception hall (Area 3) with its preceding perpendicular vestibule (Area 4) is located in the eastern wing. The courtyard is deluged by overburden slumped off from above, the eastern-most portions of the rock formation are eroded. Apparently the courtyard here was delineated by the curving eastern extreme of

the formation and may have joined to a large, straight-cut stone aligned east-west. A provisional impression is that the courtyard was defined on the southern and eastern sides as well as along part of the northern boundary to present a three-sided enclosure.

The facade along the eastern portion of the vestibule is almost completely obliterated; only a few registers on the flanks remain. Nevertheless, the vestibule-hall unit is extraordinary. Entry into the vestibule (Area 4) was through an off-centre main doorway. After stepping through the door, one was confronted with a short, relatively low-ceilinged (3 m high) chamber-passage a few metres deep that communicated to the vestibule through an arched entry. The view from this entry chamber into the main vestibule (looking west) would have been impressive indeed: a 17-m long, 6-m wide, and 8-m tall barrel-vaulted room stretched out; the northern- and southern-most walls were solid and adorned with faux colonnades of elaborate blind horseshoe-arched niches 4–5 m tall, surmounted by a linear lintel from which springs the barrel-vaulted roof. Punctuating this vast space was an arcade of tall, thin rock-cut columns that ran the entire breadth of the room that mimicked the blind colonnades on the walls. The design must have given the viewer the impression of a monumental hall with many rooms adjoined – the blind niches specifically designed and situated to resemble doors – and exaggerated dimensions. From this entry chamber one progressed straight (west) a few metres and then turned left (south), walked through the arcade, and then through the southern-most vestibule wall to enter the great hall (Area 3). The great hall, aligned perpendicularly to the vestibule, is about 5 by 8 m and 8 m tall, adorned with the same high-quality carved colonnade motif. It was here that formal receptions and banquets must have taken place.

The design of Saray at Erdemli affords some understanding into the function of the elite complex. The western half evidently comprised living quarters for the owners and servants as well as various utilitarian rooms. The second level displays apparent distinctions in room dimensions and segregated spatial arrangement suggesting the owners dwelt, in men's and women's quarters, in the western areas closest to the monumental entryway and chapel – with some of their rooms illuminated by rock-cut arcades – while servants were located at the extreme western end, where the facade drops appreciably in quality and grandeur.⁷⁵ All of these quarters start on the second level and reach as high as the fourth. Below them were utilitarian rooms, including a large stable (Area 5) with troughs for 18 horses and specialized chambers for provender, water, and supplies. The central portion of the complex embodied the main

entryways, access to the chapel, and separate halls that communicated to the remainder of the estate.⁷⁶ A worthy visitor could enter here and traverse to the great hall entirely through connected rooms on the ground floor. Alternatively, one could ascend the stairs and visit the chapel and then proceed west to visit galleries and large hall-like rooms without violating the sanctity of the domestic space.

For formal purposes, the eastern portion of the complex contained the impressive vestibule and great hall, and required a route that would have been most impressive to behold. A kitchen (Area 6), revealing the remains of a *tandır* oven, was located in this area, likely to facilitate the arrival of meals either in the hall or in the eastern portion of the courtyard depending on the context.⁷⁷ The division of the complex into private and domestic, religious, and ceremonial spaces strikes a chord back to the fourth-century estate of Adelphios, as well as shows strong resemblance to all of the elite complexes mentioned above.⁷⁸ Other chambers hearken to the undertaking of Eustathios Boilas and the practical wisdom of Katakalon Kekaumenos:

Build mills; cultivate gardens; plant trees of all sorts, and reeds, which each year will yield returns without trouble; keep livestock, oxen, pigs, sheep, and anything that grows and multiplies by itself each year: this is what will provide you an abundant table and pleasure in everything.⁷⁹

At Saray we find tucked in the eastern extremity (Area 6) near the kitchen a chamber equipped with several special storage niches, outlined with traces of the same carved wall detailing found throughout the site, surrounding a massive millstone. The curvilinear floor bases and arrangement of the niches argue strongly that the millstone is original. Not far away, we also find a chamber with apparently a slightly elevated treading floor under a crop chute similar to one seen at Geyikli Monastery. Water collection facilities and cisterns also appear more than once, including a cistern-like design that captured seasonal water surges from the little river. And there were dovecotes at the fringes of the complex – a hallmark of agricultural endeavour. There are other indications of industrial and agricultural areas that await study, which suggest household production.

The vast estate that must have belonged to Saray, then, was a fully functional one. And much like Adelphios' country estate, its furnishing was integral to its existence. A picture of the interior ensemble of Saray can be drawn in light of the will of Boilas that indicates a substantial

proportion of wealth was invested directly into furnishing his residence and its private church.⁸⁰ The will records 10 lb of gold in moveable items from his residence in addition to his costly (and considerable) library; Boilas also lists about 100 valuable items already dedicated to his church. Indeed, the magnitude of residential furnishings was so large that his daughter Irene took items such as silver-embroidered cloth believing that the 'pilfering' would go unnoticed. The impression given by Boilas supports Oikonomides' study of upper-class Byzantine household contents from the 11th to fifteenth century, wherein numerous objects are detailed for individual houses.⁸¹ The decorative ideal for a Middle Period elite structure was to achieve the most concentrated display possible of costly items, filling any open space with symbols of wealth.⁸² Saray was undoubtedly populated with finery: ornate furniture like Ktenas' silver table (see below) occupying spaces along with plush cushions; opulent fabrics and precious implementaria competing for the eye's attention; curtains shuttering the arcades; walls and stands holding scores of icons much like Boilas' estate. The bed chambers probably were appointed in a similar array of bedding to what Boilas bequeathed, and wardrobes undoubtedly held the elaborate and brightly coloured gowns, jackets, shoes, slippers, hats, veils, and turbans seen depicted on the elite donors of so many churches; so too for the jewellery illustrated on both men and women. And among the furnishings of the great hall was likely a small round table that by this time had been adopted from Bedouin culture; it would have fit perfectly in the centre of the short, three-sided bench at the southern apex of the room.⁸³ The eating habits of Constantinopolitan elites, in which diners ate reclined and with their belts slung low like Muslims, which were so deplored by the abbot Blessed Luke of Stiris (d. 953), suited Erdemli perfectly.⁸⁴ The chapel was undoubtedly resplendent in its polychromatic decoration and carved ornamentation, and the numerous censers, chalices, icons, cloths, and priestly robes of different colours hosted there – much of which Boilas mentions in his will. Other walls outside the chapel may very well have held delightful scenes from Aesop's Fables like those found at Eski Gümüş. Indeed, the opulence of Digenis Akritis' legendary built estate is worth noting:

...the noble Frontiersman built a delightful house, of good size...with imposing columns and windows in the upper part. He decorated all the ceilings with mosaics from costly marbles.... Inside he made upper rooms with three floors, fair in height, with ceilings of many shades and cross-shaped halls, extraordinary five-domed chambers.... At an

angle on both sides he set up marvelous dining-chambers of a good length, with golden ceilings.... In the middle of this [courtyard] Digenis set up a church, a glorious structure, in the name of the martyr Saint Theodore; and in it he buried his revered father...⁸⁵

While Saray was not as opulent as the gold, onyx, and marble of Digenis' epic palace, there are nonetheless echoes of such luxury in the types of rooms, number of levels, and the presence of painted and carved wall decorations. To varying degrees, all of the elite complexes bear kinship to Digenis' centre, and their surviving painted and carved decorations suggest interiors that would have rivalled Adelphios' grand estate if not that of the legendary border lord. Of these, Saray may have been one of the most opulent of all.

Elite facades and the melting pot

The continuity we propose here from Late Antiquity into the Middle Period does not mean that elite culture was static. Architecturally, this is most explicit in the facades adorning the elite complexes. Sixth-century Saray-Belha Kilise showed a face punctuated by monumental doorways resembling an arcade bearing carved decoration; probably giving the effect of a Roman portico and architecture. The internal carved detailing offers support, with the use of regular colonnades and other faux architectural elements straight out of the Greco-Roman world. The Middle Period elite complexes, however, display something different: influence from the Islamic world.

Many elite centres display a facade that can be described as registers or tiers of blind horseshoe-arched or key-hole niches (or bays) set within frames or divided by pilasters (see Figure 6.6); it was an importation of an Islamic monumental facade motif, possibly from Spain where it was referred to as *alfiz* – a corruption of Arabic meaning container. These 'containers' or distinct units of horseshoe arches were used in series, such as seen at the Great Mosque of Cordoba (987) and the Bib Mardun mosque of Toledo (999).⁸⁶ Instead of containers or bays, another large group of Cappadocian facades favoured registers of blind arcades that appear more Roman. However, horseshoe arches are typically found in the internal carved decoration of these complexes, which is the case for Şahinefendi discussed above. Variations are found in the elite facade decoration such as the parapet and mixed use of pilasters and engaged columns at Erdemli, but like the floor plan, a symbolic vocabulary was established and used with latitude to communicate the message that this is an elite structure. Indeed, even in facade design there are

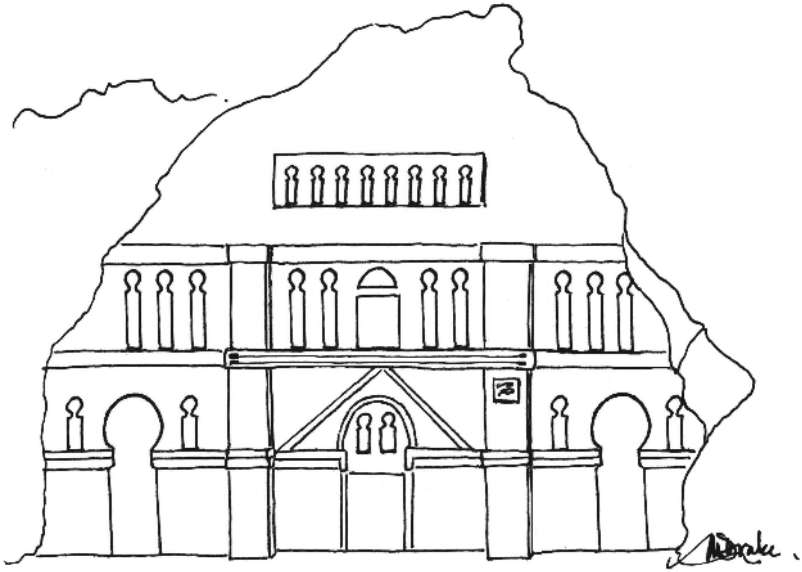


Figure 6.6 Facade

similarities to Saray-Belha Kilise: symmetry in presentation, the use of recognised faux architectural elements instead of abstracted innovation, and the conveyance of monumentality. The intended effect was the same, but the flavour was different.

Whether the hallmark Middle Period facade was found elsewhere in Byzantium and to what extent remain open questions. However, the data available suggest that the hallmark facade appeared in Cappadocia in the tenth century and persisted to at least the last decades of the 11th.⁸⁷ The elite complexes displaying the 'classic' floor plan and hallmark facade thus fall within a model that had deep roots and widely recognised elements: the basic floor arrangement ultimately from the Roman world and the facade motif from the Islamic sphere. By the mid tenth century, Cappadocian artisans had combined the floor plan and facade motif into a single, identifiable symbol of elite Cappadocian architecture.

Amalgamation of the floor plan and facade occurred because each became a recognised expression of an elite class that occupied opposing borders but shared a largely common secular cultural tradition.⁸⁸ This is not to say that Byzantine and Islamic culture were identical. Rather, they shared a common influence of Persian and ancient Mediterranean

origins that served as a melting pot. Ample evidence is seen in the Byzantine and Islamic silks, enamels, manuscripts, and metal wares that bear similar imagery and motifs.⁸⁹ Distinct aspects of Byzantine and Islamic culture could be adopted by the other without onus. For example, the courtiers of Emperor Botaneiates wore *tirazes*, and pseudo-Kufic facade decorations became popular *ca* the tenth century. More pointedly, the imperial Bryas Palace was modelled after a palace in Baghdad, while in the succeeding century expert mosaicists were despatched from Byzantium to the caliph of Cordoba to help decorate a mosque.⁹⁰

Cappadocian elite complexes incorporated the locally articulated forms of Late Antiquity with decorative facade motifs drawn from the neighbouring Islamic elite. Such cultural interchange was especially prevalent in Cappadocia, a permeable frontier and crossroad of Constantinople and Baghdad, where notable locals such as Michael Skepides and John the *tagmatikos* wore turban-like headdress, and citizens of Arab descent sometimes attained lofty ranks, exemplified by the ninth century emperor Nikephoros I.⁹¹ Front-fastening robes with long tunics depicted in donor panels reveal fashion inspired by the Islamic sphere, but depictions of what may be gold embroidery and jewellery combined with obviously Christian symbols reveal the fashion to be of deeply blended styles.

Tokalı Kilise and notions of wealth

In most cases, surviving remains do not permit any notion of the wealth employed to create them. The relative economic basis of the provincial elite remains poorly understood, although Hendy has shown that in terms of the degree of liquidity there is a discernable consistency among the uppermost echelons of the elite from Late Antiquity through the eleventh century. Generally the apogee of the elite, such as the Maleinoi and Phokades, are recognised as having a truly staggering affluence orders of magnitude above the rung below, although complete quantification of such wealth remains impossible due to a paucity of data. It is certain, though, that most holdings were in the form of land, livestock and other productive assets; cash typically constituted only a fraction.⁹² For more middling tiers, however, the picture is even less clear, which can adversely influence the interpretation of the extant archaeology as well as skew perceptions of the Cappadocian elite environment. There is no better example of this than Tokalı Kilise, the most famous church in Cappadocia, about which much has been written.⁹³ We are concerned here only with putting the 'New Church' portion in context to the provincial elite and notions of wealth.

The New Church has a large transverse barrel-vaulted nave with a side chapel (*parekklesion*) and ends with a triple-apsed sanctuary, which was created between *ca* 940 and 969. The only extant analogous precursor in overall architectural design is the church of Mar Yakub in the Tur 'Abdin (around Mardin in eastern Turkey).⁹⁴ The reason for Tokalı Kilise's fame, however, is the decoration. Masterfully painted scenes hold much of the usual fare: the Infancy, Ministry and Passion cycles; the Ascension, Benediction of the Apostles; the Forty Martyrs, Ss Blaisos and Euthymios; several portions of the life of St Basil and so on. There are also many bishop saints and monks depicted as well as a multitude of other saints. Some, and perhaps all, carved decorations were covered in silver and gold foils – the name Tokalı Kilise ('Buckle Church') owes to a gilded emblem that was on a wall. The impressive quality and scope of these decorations suffice in their own right to be admired. But more extraordinary is the ultramarine background for much of the church paintings, consisting of lapis lazuli from the Badakshan ranges (in Afghanistan), worth possibly more than its weight in gold.⁹⁵

What was Tokalı Kilise, and who could afford such a thing? Two inscriptions partially survive in the New Church that help elucidate these questions. One tells that the bema (sanctuary) was painted by a certain Nikephoros, funded by a Leo, son of Constantine. The other inscription proclaims that Constantine, inspired out of love for the Monastery of Heavenly Angels (or the Archangels), decorated this new foundation with venerable images (listing 20 scenes).⁹⁶ Regarding the nature of Tokalı Kilise, Constantine's mention of a monastery and the proximity of the Göreme monasteries have led many to believe that it either was a monastery itself or the *katholikon* for the neighbouring monastic agglomeration.⁹⁷ Neither is the case. The reference to a monastery in Constantine's inscription is strikingly similar to one found at the Church of St John at Güllü Dere, whereat the foundation of a monastery is mentioned but widely believed to refer to a location elsewhere.⁹⁸ In other words, Constantine referred to a separate monastery that he founded. Lacunae make interpreting the inscription harder, but the fact that the New Church is called a new foundation argues against a pre-existing monastery. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 4, there is no archaeological indication that a monastery existed at or near the site of Tokalı Kilise, and the New Church predates the monasteries in Göreme Valley by a century or more.

There also has been much speculation on the donors, with many suggesting that they could only be from the Phokades or one of the greatest Cappadocian families. However, no convincing, specific identification

of these donors has been made, and the Phokades can probably be ruled out – the only known Constantine Phokas did not have a son named Leo.⁹⁹ No titles or rank accompany either name, and so they probably did not have them and did not belong to the grandest families. It is difficult for many to entertain that any but the highest tier of the provincial elite could have afforded a foundation such as Tokalı Kilise, since it appears unique in status today – an impression emphasised by its surviving opulent decoration and relatively large size. But scholars to date have not quantified how much this church might have cost, and thereby provide some notion of how much affluence was required.

The naos of the New Church would take a single man two years to cut and finish.¹⁰⁰ The remainder of the New Church is considerably smaller, but we allocate another two man-years for its excavation and finishing for any special challenges that specific features might have posed. This gives a total labour requirement of four man-years. We use 18 *nomismata* per annum for salary, the high end of specialized labourers in Byzantium, which equates to a total cost of 72 *nomismata* (1 lb of gold). For the silver and gold foils, we proffer 2 lb of gold as a working number. Considering the thinness of metal foils used in mosaic work, both labour and cost of materials should be covered. The value of the lapis lazuli used was approximately 31.5 lb of gold (2270 *nomismata*), and we allow a substantial 2.5 lb of gold to cover remaining decoration supplies and wages.¹⁰¹ The working total cost of the New Church was thus approximately 37 lb of gold (2664 *nomismata*). For comparison, the New Church cost slightly less than what one of Eustathios Boilas' villages Bouzina was worth (40 lb gold) and possibly close to his personal library (see below). Looked at another way, the wealthy priest Ktenas paid 40 lb in gold plus two earrings (worth 10 lb) and a silver table with images of animals (worth 10 lb) for the title of *protospatharios* in the reign of Leo VI; 40 lb appears to have been the standard rate at the time, but Ktenas had to pay 60 due to his priestly occupation.¹⁰² Hence, the foundation of Tokalı Kilise New Church was eminently affordable to a wide range of the Cappadocian elite, and might have cost about the same as a reasonably productive village, a personal library, some finery, or a court title like the one Michael Skepides bears – and likely purchased – in his inscription at Soğanlı Dere.¹⁰³

To gain further insight into the extent of wealth for a more middle-tier elite, we turn again to Eustathios Boilas and his will composed in 1059.¹⁰⁴ Eustathios fell upon hard times not too long before composing his testament, having been ousted from family estates in Cappadocia worth at least 25 lb of gold, and abused by his patron(s); he was forced

to move with what transportable wealth he could into the environs of Edessa, where he bought several derelict estates and brought them into fertility.¹⁰⁵ Eustathios described himself as a *protospatharios epi tou chrystoklinou* and *hypatos* who had been banished and deprived of his court salary some years prior; he could not draw upon sources of income available to others.¹⁰⁶ Despite his losses, he bequeathed considerable wealth to his children, the two churches he had founded and all of his servants. He gave items and interest in two-and-a-half properties (estates or villages) worth about 80 lb of gold to his two daughters and his son-in-law; the Church of the Theotokos was given the other portion of a property worth 20 lb of gold and an additional 36 *nomismata* (Eustathios already had given some 300 *nomismata* in implements and furnishings); and finally the Church of St Barbara, the family sepulchre (already endowed), received 12 *nomismata* and the produce of his village Paraboniou (200 *modioi* of wheat, 1000 *litrai* of wine, and many legumes and fruits annually). To his servants and freedmen Eustathios bestowed various allotments of *nomismata*, land parcels (usually a *zeugotopion* in size) and some minor items. Yet this list did not exhaust his resources. To his patrons he gave 3 lb of gold, and to certain unnamed priests and a bishop a few books along with coin. Lacunae and vague statements hide the value of several more donations, and it is unclear what happened to his library of some 80 codices worth over 1600 *nomismata* (ca 22.25 lb gold) for the folios, and perhaps just as much again in bindings.¹⁰⁷ From what we can account, Eustathios' will disposes of some 147 lb of gold as his estate – not including the 25 lb of gold he had lost, nor the 400 *nomismata* (nearly 6 lb of gold) paid for a certain female slave. However, missing text, aforementioned miscellaneous allotments of *nomismata* and land parcels left unvalued, various produce from certain villages, the unknown value of his two churches, and unstated values of his herds, flocks, and slaves mean that this is a very incomplete picture indeed. Boilas' entire estate probably surpassed 200 lb of gold.¹⁰⁸ Beleaguered as he was, Eustathios could have afforded the New Church.

Cappadocian elite identity

The late antique Cappadocian elite had an exuberant *joie de vivre* combined with brazen temerity, avarice, and ruthlessness – lamented by Basil of Caesarea and confronted by Justinian I – that reflected who and what they were, and how they perceived themselves. Fundamentally, these traits were inextricably woven into the fabric of Cappadocia.

The sumptuous setting and decadent repast presented when Adelphios hosted Gregory of Nyssa to lunch transcended the senses; it was a message communicating wealth, and thus power and prestige. Adelphios' church heralded not only piety, but also a subtle control over religion; where beholden clerics might reside. Saray-Belha Kilise, some two centuries later, informs us that these aspects had not died but perhaps intensified. The adjoined chapel served as sepulchre, and others were added, to ensure salvation and remembrance as well as reinforce concepts of dynasty. Claim over the land was validated and manifested through multigenerational interment. The grand facade and elaborate carved decoration were blaring signs of wealth and power, and likely drew association to imperial cities and perhaps Constantinople itself. Such messages were not only for other elite, but also for those over whom they lorded and upon whom they preyed. The rich and powerful stood out like beacons in their silken finery and ostentatious jewellery – there was no confusing them with the *hoi polloi*.

When the curtains are pulled back to reveal the Middle Period, we see a provincial elite with many similarities. Estates dot the countryside, almost every one with a chapel and funerary provisions. Grand facades herald their presence and elicit association with a potent culture that stood apart from and above normal countrymen, and yet draw ties back to late antique heritage through an identifiable floor plan. Clients who visited their patron's estate experienced an impressive psychological and physical reminder of their place and the grandeur of their master. Piety and domain over religion were signalled by their private churches, which also served to broadcast important messages of status and achievement. Impressive decoration such as at Tokalı New Church, commemoration of the foundation of monasteries as witnessed in the Church of St John at Güllü Dere, architectural displays like Çanlı Kilise, and donor depictions of opulent Constantinopolitan-style attire like the Skepides all proclaimed wealth, status, power, and connections with the Imperial City and God. Burial in these churches ensured remembrance and hopefully salvation; it also finalised ties to the land. The currency of such symbolism was as deep in Cappadocia as it was ubiquitous. The adolescent brothers John and Eustrates who contributed to the Church at Ayvalı are both described modestly and formulaically as servants of Christ; yet each is depicted unbearded and wearing an earring, clad in a long yellow tunic with red, buttoned jacket. Despite their youth, they nevertheless understood the importance of founding their own church that proclaimed their mastery of the land and humility before God.

7

The Warlords

When he (Bardas Phokas) was general in the themes bordering on Tarsos, namely Cappadocia and Anatolikon, thousands of times he inflicted harm on the forces of Tarsos and the rest of Cilicia and gained tremendous victories over them.¹

The establishment of the seat of power in Constantinople transformed Cappadocian society just as it deeply affected the rest of the East. Constantinople exerted a tremendous gravitational pull over the eastern provinces and drew to it the talented and ambitious men who earlier might have been content to remain at home. Prior to the fourth century, the people of the region had played little role in Roman political or cultural life, but during Late Antiquity we see Cappadocians advancing through the triad of avenues common throughout the empire – service to the state, the church, or the army. Cappadocians like Gregory of Nazianzos attained the highest of clerical offices; the circle of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzos included the Cappadocians Aburgios, who rose to *Quaestor sacri Palatii* or *Comes rei Privatae*, and Martinianus, who was *Consularis Siciliae*, *Vicarius Africae*, and *Praefectus Urbs Romanus*.² Philagrius rose to *Praefectus Aegypti* and *Vicar Ponticae* while Sophronios earned the positions of *Magister Officiorum* and *Praefectus urbis Constantinopolis*. Most famous of course was John the Cappadocian, who ascended to the pinnacle of the civil administration under Justinian.³

In their relation to the centre, Cappadocian provincials were like their regional peers. Talented locals swam upstream to the capital, and some returned to fill posts in their home regions. As local city councils and priesthoods vanished along with the public opportunities they had

offered, and the state that evolved under Diocletian and his successors embraced a host of new men in the court and the army. Once again the families of the Cappadocian Fathers provide examples that were typical of elite schemes of patronage and social reciprocity. Before renouncing the world, Kaesarios, the younger brother of Gregory of Nazianzos, pursued an ambitious secular road that took him to Alexandria and eventually to the imperial court. Probably under pressure from his devout family, he abandoned the worldly pursuits that had put him in the morally ambiguous position of serving the polytheist emperor Julian and the heretical Valens. Naukratios, a younger brother of Basil of Caesarea, had a promising career in municipal government in Pontos before he quit public life and became a hunter.⁴ One's extended family also mattered a great deal. Gregory of Nazianzos had a close relationship with his cousin, Amphilochios, bishop of Ikonion and the family of his niece Alypiana, whose husband Nikobulos had a distinguished career as a soldier.⁵ Gregory served this family as a patron, intervening on behalf of the children and writing letters requesting support for them.

As noted in the previous chapter, family and client networks were naturally vital for protection and advancement. One extreme example of the mobilisation of family and regional networks was the revolt of Prokopios (365–6). The historian Philostorgios noted that Prokopios was a close kinsman of Julian, though exactly how the two were related remains an open question.⁶ It has been remarked that the emperor and pretender may have been related through maternal lines; it is also possible that Prokopios was Julian's cousin, perhaps the son of Julianus' uncle or of Constantine I's nephew, Hannibalianus. In 335, Hannibalianus was named 'King of Kings of the Pontic Peoples' and made his headquarters in Caesarea whence he was to exert Roman authority over eastern Anatolia and the newly organised regions of Roman Armenia.⁷ Through either set of blood ties Prokopios would have inherited properties and family connections with the Cappadocians who formed the core of his revolt.

Although not a Cappadocian by birth, Prokopios had kin with links throughout the province that embraced a network of important friends and allies. After being outmanoeuvred for the imperial office by those backing Jovian, Prokopios withdrew to family estates in Caesarea. Prokopios is also said to have stayed at the estate of Eunomios during the time he contemplated rebellion.⁸ The origin of several key accomplices of the usurper hint at deeper local and regional ties that remain frustratingly obscure. Thus, in addition to his links with the high-born Cappadocian Araxios, whom he named his Praetorian Prefect, Prokopios

drew considerable support from a wide web of Cappadocian or Pontic family connections.⁹

In other ways the face of Cappadocia was fundamentally different from other areas of the empire. It was a vast, rural region with fewer cities than the coastlands and its Anatolian neighbours. It was a land of vast rangelands and estates, of strong points from which they controlled the territory, and of villages and troglodytic settlements. By Late Antiquity, Cappadocian elites were an old, deeply entrenched group that had, prior to the fourth century, played only minor roles in imperial politics. Elites spent most of their time on their rural farms or in their town houses, and cities like Caesarea and Tyana remained vibrant through the sixth century. But the loss of local autonomy and increasing centralisation meant that local notables were even more isolated as the fifth and sixth centuries advanced. Even as the church and state took over most of the roles of the old curiae, they could neither offer as many positions, nor the same level of opportunity for honour and prestige. While some of their countrymen made good in the capital or bureaucracy, many others retreated to their farms, like Symmachus and his fellow Gauls on the other side of the world. On their well appointed, isolated estates that lorded over expansive lands and villages filled with dependents, there was a natural tendency for cloister politics and the insularity of one's family and householders.

No doubt there always was and continued to be a group whose horizons never extended as far as the capital. Their interests were local and clannish. Like all families in antiquity, the objectives of such groups were to survive and extend their influence, which in turn made their continuation ostensibly more likely. The wicked men decried by Asterios and Basil, greedy for lands and saddened to have neighbours, were a fixture of pre-industrial life everywhere. But they seem to have become increasingly prominent during Late Antiquity, by which time centuries of relative peace and stability had allowed family networks to root themselves deeply into local society, and the state was in the midst of renegotiating vital local ties. These essential constituents, along with the relatively deeply monetised economy, a thriving and exploitable market for surplus goods, and a general demographic uptick in Late Antiquity made life better for some small-scale farmers, but also profited the rich.¹⁰ Surplus labour allowed large landowners to exert inexorable pressure on the landless cultivators and influence or control local markets by depressing wages, fixing prices to their advantage, or demanding inequitable rent. Wages were generally low and the vast majority of people at or near subsistence. Gregory of Nazianzos chafed

at the one *solidus* (in total) per day demanded by the 30 skilled masons he employed, and naturally the wages of general labourers and farmers would have been lower still.¹¹ In areas of strong imperial control and fewer large landowners, the small-scale peasant farmer could do well – robust urban populations with thriving markets meant their modest surpluses could readily be transformed into cash. In areas where there was an entrenched, dominant group of landholders these conditions, along with their access to imperial office, amplified the power and reach of the wealthy.

After the Cappadocian Fathers, our sources ebb, but where historians and ecclesiastical writers are absent, the law codes fill in some of the lacunas. In 536, Justinian issued *Novel* 30 and refashioned the administration of Cappadocia. Though Jones is most surely wrong to state that there was only one city in Cappadocia Prima (Caesarea) to which the law refers, there is no mistaking the rural character of settlement there.¹² Roman government was government from cities, and those scattered over the 90,000 and more square kilometres of Cappadocia were few. The church would not fill the gap – bishops assumed much of the mantle of administration during Late Antiquity, but as noted above in Chapter 5, Cappadocia had few bishops, since these were urban creatures. Although Hierokles' list recorded Nyssa and Basilika Therma as cities in Cappadocia Prima, and bishops from Kamulianai (Kemer) and Kiskisos (Yaylacık) are known, these sites were closer in nature to Sasima (Chapter 1) than they were to Caesarea.¹³

In Late Antiquity, there were garrisons at Caesarea, Sebasteia, and Sebastopolis.¹⁴ The force at Caesarea was apparently permanent, being mentioned across the fourth and fifth centuries. The legionary base at Satala, once home to the *Legio XV Apollinaris*, was refortified by Justinian and must have maintained a garrison down to the time of the Persian and Arab wars of the seventh century, albeit smaller than it was in the days of the Principate.¹⁵ There may have been another legionary presence at Doman (unlocalised), a target of the AD 260 invasion of Shapur I.¹⁶ Likewise some troops remained at Melitene, as noted by Prokopios.¹⁷ Considering the great size of the region, boots on the ground from the civil and military authorities were relatively few – most were likely gathered at the more than fifty *stationes* (halts) along the major roads that cut through the region, where there were imperial stables, storehouses, and rest-quarters. More importantly, in a landscape dominated by villages and imperial postal stations (*mansions*) the 13 houses of the *oikiai* (*oikoi*) of the *domus divinae* noted in *Novel* 30 provided the main nodes of contact between the government and

the people of Cappadocia. From these centres – whose role as estate headquarters must often have combined with halting points, depots, and supply stations – the imperial overseers (*praktores*) and their staff managed the collection of rents and taxes on crown lands.

Imperial estates have been discussed in Chapter 2 above. There is no way of knowing with any precision the extent of these lands, nor whether they formed large, contiguous blocks, or scattered plots. Some were likely large, relatively homogenous agglomerations, particularly those that had belonged to the treasury for centuries, namely the confiscated estates of the Cappadocian kings, eventually absorbed into the *res privata*. That they were extensive systems, covering a sizeable portion not only of Cappadocia Prima but also Secunda, is beyond doubt. But where were the 13 *oikiai* from which these regions were administered? While there are no certainties regarding the locations and extent of the *oikiai*, some qualified observations are possible. The dearth of cities implies that the vast majority of territory (including among the provinces of Armenia) lay outside of urban *territoria* and thus fell to the state and large landowners. Of the old Hellenistic *strategiae* that comprised the region, Hellenistic and Roman cities were a few drops in an ocean; the entire northern portion of Cappadocia I, the old regions of Chamanene, Saravenae, and Laviansene, had no urban centres. The emperor therefore held claim over the whole of northern Cappadocia I and there jockeyed with wealthy subjects for possession and influence.

A number of sites stand out as probable imperial estate centres. In northern Cappadocia I, Aquae Saravenae (Kirşehir) and Basilika Therma (Sarıkaya) – both were hot springs and Basilika Therma was an imperial spa – were almost certainly part of the *domus divinae* and *oikiai*.¹⁸ Near Caesarea, the imperial estate of Makelle served as an imperial hunting lodge among the forest and scrubland of Mt Argaios. In the fourth century Makelle possessed a much-frequented shrine of St Mamas and also served as a place of exile and probable imperial hunting lodge. Makelle was most probably an *oikos* managing most of the imperial lands around the metropolis of Caesarea. Further south, along the route from Caesarea to Tyana, lay the imperial stud farm of the Villa Palmati at Andabalis (Yeniköy), confiscated by Valerian from a wealthy landowner. The Villa Palmati supplied horses to the *cursus publicus* and to the emperor; Constans made a gift of 200 Cappadocian horses to Sabaeian emissaries that undoubtedly came from the Palmatian stud farm.¹⁹ As noted in Chapter 3, these horses were highly prized and famous throughout the empire; as such they were coveted assets that the emperors struggled to guard. This need for horses and their jealous

guarding by imperial officials undoubtedly meant that the operation continued to function at least into the seventh century. Following the late antique reorganisations, the Villa Palmati would probably have fallen within *Secunda*, but the overarching jurisdiction of the proconsul rendered moot such distinctions.

In Cappadocia II, the sixth-century *Synekdemos* of Hierokles listed the *regiones* of Mokissos (Viranşehir) and Doara (Duvarlı).²⁰ Mountains and woodlands in 'desert' lands belonged to the emperor, and Mokissos, with its fortified centre situated on the shoulder of the lesser Mt Argaios and surrounded by woodlands and open country below, is a paradigmatic example of an *oikos*. Although it had only been a *phourion* amidst a *regio*, Justinian remodelled Mokissos, renamed it Justinianopolis, and raised it to city rank as well as elevated it to metropolitan status with Doara and Nazianzos as suffragans.²¹ At Asbamaion (Hortasan Gölü) in Tyanitis, carbonated water boiled vigorously from sacred springs dedicated to Zeus and a prominent temple and its lands was seized by the emperor by Late Antiquity. Asbamaion thus became the centre of an imperial domain.²² As the great temple estates in Cappadocia and throughout the Roman world were absorbed into the fisc by a law of AD 364 (*C. Th.* 10.1.8), the vast holdings of the priests of Ma at Komana (Şar) and those of Zeus at Venasa (Avanos) likely remained relatively intact and formed part of the administrative spine of the Divine House. Although some evidence supports the identification of the nine prior houses, we may only speculate about the four remaining *oikiai* and, absent new data, the overall picture will remain murky. We hazard that Kamulianai (Kemer), home of the *acheiropoieton* of Christ discussed in Chapter 5, Kiskisos (Yaylacık), and the regions of Balabitenne and Asthianene in Armenia IV were likely *oikiai* in part because they appear in the city lists of Hierokles and George of Cyprus and seem to have been rendered bishoprics under Justinian. Jones viewed late bishoprics as probable centres of *regiones*, analogous to new bishoprics in Bithynia.²³ There are many other likely candidates where subsequent imperial military activity lends support for sizeable concentrations of imperial lands, some of city status with long-established bishoprics, such as Arabissos and Ariaratheia, while others were minor settlements, notably Bathys Ryax – a spa and later an *aplekton* – on the route to Sebasteia.²⁴

These massive landholdings, storehouses of much of the wealth of the provinces and the emperor, lay at the centre of the maelstrom that gripped the region throughout much of Late Antiquity. Though we cannot be certain, the proposed provincial reorganisation of Valens, and

the shuffling of administrative responsibilities under Anastasios perhaps indicates, in addition to inscrutable imperial aims, a desire to rationalise and enhance income from the *domus divinae*.²⁵ The same desire for more revenue from the imperial estates in Cappadocia is expressed in *Novel* 30, issued in 536. Enmeshed in the imperial desire for greater returns are a host of issues ultimately rooted in corruption.

Novel 30 depicts a province in chaos, a landscape of violence and coercion where imperial authority had fractured.²⁶ Nor was this mere hyperbole; problems in the provinces forced Justinian to make sweeping reforms, the lynchpin of which was the appointment of a proconsul bearing the rank of *spectabilis* (*peribleptos*, the second-tier of senatorial honorific) with an annual salary of 20 lb of gold (30.6.2). Other provinces had similar arrangements where a high ranking officer held the reins of the civilian and military government, but the proconsul of Cappadocia was unique, as his authority extended also to the fiscal and crown lands – not only those within the provinces of Cappadocia, but throughout the whole of the diocese of Pontos (30.1).²⁷ Several years prior, Justinian had taken care to appoint three curators (*curatores dominicae domus*), officials of *illustris* rank, and probably responsible directly to the emperor.²⁸ These high-ranking officers held honours and titles far beyond the old provincial governors (who had been of *clarissimus* rank, the lowest of the senatorial order) and as such were intended to overawe the men of the senatorial elites, the very malefactors targeted in the imperial legislation.²⁹

The decline in revenues from the imperial estates alarmed the emperor. The quantity of gold and cloth, two items mentioned specifically in the context of lands supporting the empress (30.6.2), failed to meet the expectations of the court. Beyond the manufacture of vestments for bureaucrats and soldiers, clearly the Cappadocian *gynaikeia* in Caesarea and elsewhere produced woollens consumed by the imperial court and that at least certain rents were paid in cash remitted to the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (grand chamberlain). The proconsul was charged with the assiduous collection of rents and taxes, the maintenance of infrastructure, and accurate accounting. Deficiencies in all of these areas had evidently contributed to a serious decline in receipts that spurred the emperor to strenuous action. More worrying than slackness and general incompetence were the nefarious landowners, whose overseers (*epitropoi*) ranged about the countryside, terrorising the population, pillaging as they pleased, and lording over the imperial lands as if they were their own. In fact, the emperor notes (*Novel* 30.5) that the fiscal lands had practically become private property – a sure indication that they were being exploited as such.

The usurpation of imperial property had a long history and is not in and of itself surprising. Justinian repeated the laws of Theodosios that attacked private individuals who drove flocks and herds into imperial pastures and those who appropriated imperial lands (*CJ* 11.66, AD 396). A litany of laws attempted, vainly as it turned out, to safeguard the emperor's land, like those that forbade private persons from taking imperial buildings for their own use, erecting unwarranted structures on imperial property, enticing imperial *georgoi* away from the lands of the fisc, stealing irrigation water, and illegal purchases of imperial property (*CJ* 11.65–9).

But what differed, and a key catalyst that triggered such a vigorous imperial response, was the contumely offered up by the emperor's subjects. *Novel* 30.5.1 decries the brigandage of the estate overseers, themselves the servants of 'powerful men' (*dynatoi*) and their followers, whom Justinian calls *doruphoroi*. *Doruphoroi* were not in the main simply gangs of armed peasants or louts (though some certainly were) but rather *boukellarioi*, professional household troops.³⁰ The use of such armed retainers was commonplace over much of the late antique empire, particularly on large estates where they often were employed as guards and police. Their use was not illegal, but the government was worried that the *doruphoroi* backed private estate owners in theft of imperial herds and property and their occupation of the emperor's lands. More, at least some of these Cappadocian *boukellarioi* seem to have been army deserters (*Edict* VIII.3), and as such, they represented a grave threat to local stability and the interests of the state. In Cappadocia the relative prominence of Cappadocians in the military probably contributed to the recruitment and use of the *boukellarioi*. Former high-ranking commanders may well have been numbered among the offending landowners, and those wealthy civilians would have found a ready pool of military veterans easily enmeshed within the local system of clientage and at odds with their former imperial paymaster.

These mercenaries and their powerful paymasters created a situation in which the provincials lived in terror. Rape, theft, and murder – including the killing of priests – are specifically cited. Civil discord (*stasis*; *Nov.* 30.7.1) was rampant between the parties of the state and the private citizenry. The powerful locals had so despoiled the imperial lands that these had become almost worthless (*Nov.* 30.5.1). Those who would inform were bribed into silence – or silenced other ways – a testament to the impotence and turpitude of the imperial administrators of the region, who were corrupted or coerced into aiding the local powerful in their crimes. Government men not only failed to block the powerful

men of the region, they themselves oppressed the cultivators of imperial lands, through unfair levies and assessments that lined their own pockets or those of local elites. Indeed, imperial officialdom was so rotten that the emperor abolished the posts of *procurator* (*epitropos*) and *tractator* (*trakteutes*) (*Nov.* 30.2) and replaced them with *praktores*, officials of nebulous rank and function, but whose duties must have included general oversight and assessment of the proceeds due from the estates. There were to be 13 *praktores*, along with a deputy, one for each *oikos*. At the top, the proconsul was charged with restoring order, ending unrest, and suppressing the armed bands.

Alongside the instalment of a new cadre of officials, and the reshuffling of offices and administrative structures in the Divine House, Justinian attempted to tighten imperial oversight by establishing a new city, Mokissos (see Chapter 1), in the midst of an agglomeration of crown lands around the lesser Mt Argaios. As noted above, it seems that under Justinian new bishoprics appeared at Kamulianai and Kiskisos and these also probably aimed at tightening administrative control. Since Justinian effectively viewed the church as an extension of the state, the new sees were probably not only pastoral, but called upon to assist in oversight and control of the province.

Justinian's reform effort failed spectacularly. The endemic violence and damage to private and imperial rights and property were so acute that 12 years later the emperor revived the office of *vicar* of Pontos, an official who possessed a unified civil and military command over the provinces from Bithynia eastwards along the Black Sea coast, and included Armenia, Cappadocia, and Galatia. The restitution of the vicariate was due to rampant military desertion (*Edict* 8.2) and runaway violence, including rape, theft, and murder – the same litany of crimes enumerated in *Novel* 30. The vicar was ordered to curb corruption among officials, the clergy, landowners (*possessores*), and private persons (*Edict* 8.3). In order to do so, the vicar was to utilise the army units stationed throughout the provinces – a clear indication of the gravity of circumstances.

The frailty of imperial reach is further underscored by efforts of emperor Tiberios to curb similar abuses. We do not know to whom the law was issued and the text discusses the lands of the Divine House generally, but since the largest and most important agglomeration of these was in Cappadocia, it certainly describes conditions there as they stood at the end of the sixth century. Despite previous efforts, imperial officials persisted in their abuses. The *kouratores* (a new office overseeing imperial lands, attested from 557) were appropriating the lands of private

citizens to the *domus divinae*. Were their aggressive behaviour enacted on behalf of the emperor, Tiberios would likely have been less agitated. Instead, estate administrators (now described with Greek titles, such as *kourator*, *chartophylax*, *pronoetes*) established themselves as patrons, assuming responsibility for peasant debts and blocking creditors and taking charge over the persons and properties of imperial tenants (*Novel* 12.1–3). This is the same form of patronage alluded to in *Novel* 30.11, when the emperor's men established patronage networks (*prostasia*) in which powerful men intervened to protect accused criminals from the emperor's justice.

The picture for the state was bleak. Despite vigorous legislative activity, administrative reshufflings, and new appointments, clearly the emperor was powerless to staunch the haemorrhaging of imperial property and influence. Instead, state agents and private individuals used their offices and privilege to co-opt the tillers on imperial lands, rob them of their flocks and herds, and appropriate the land itself. Their crime was made easier by the vastness of the area and in the nature of imperial tenancy, which from the fourth century had increasingly been held under perpetual (or very long term) lease (*emphyteusis*), whose stability and length of duration rendered them akin to ownership and doubtlessly undermined the ties that bound the peasants and rendered the updating of land rolls, cadastres, and so on less frequent than under short-term arrangements.³¹ A slackening of record-keeping under such circumstances is likely, since leases did not need to be renewed at short intervals, and the fact that many tenants followed their parents in their holdings, further loosened the perception that the emperor was the owner, and not his officials with whom the farmers interacted. The various categories of farmers mentioned in *Novel* 12 (*misthotai*, *emphyteutoi*) make it certain that such long-term leases were in effect among the tenants of the *domus divinae*.

In any case, the insularity of the emperor and the ready access of his agents to his cultivators made the imperial position precarious at best when dishonest officials were in place. Under pressure, peasants were easily coerced by representatives of the state, who clearly colluded with one another and used bribery and force on those who were recalcitrant. Indeed, the flight of peasants to the protection of patrons who happened to hold office and derive their wealth from bureaucratic positions was long-standing and more familiar from private life. As noted previously (in Chapter 6) the fourth-century sophist Libanios described competitors to his own influence when some of his *coloni* found alternative sponsors in the army. Those overseers, tax-collectors

(*dioiketai* 12.5) and *kouratores* who, according to Tiberios, replaced the emperor's patronage (*prostasia*, *Novel* 12.4) with their own *patrokinion* (*Novel* 12.4), were partakers in *patronicum vicorum*, the 'protection of estates' in which rural tenants sought refuge from tax officials, rents, debt collectors, or other social contracts in the arms of the powerful. Justinian forbade this kind of tax evasion (*Nov.* 17.13) but he, like his predecessors, failed to staunch what was already a deeply entrenched and endemic problem. Under such conditions, very few free small-holders must have remained in the Middle Period.

The fate of the Divine House in Cappadocia ultimately remains unknown. Kaplan and Métivier are pessimistic and look at Tiberios' effort as the last gasp of the *domus divinae* in the region, as the sources are ever after silent on the emperor's lands there.³² If, as Métivier believes, the silence speaks volumes, then the sixth-century emperors lost their battle, and the crown and state lands slipped into private hands before the eruption of the Persians into Anatolia in the early seventh century. Without evidence from the Dark Age, the point is moot. In any case, the successive laws of Late Antiquity demonstrate that a thriving group of local, powerful men held wide sway in the provinces and, as they expanded the basis of their own wealth, they challenged the will of the imperial government, often through sustained and systematic terror wrought by their private retainers.

War contributed not only to the collapse of the late antique order and the consequent closing off of our source stream, but further erosion of imperial authority. In 575 a major Sasanian invasion was only intercepted en route to Caesarea; as the Persians withdrew they took the time to sack Sebasteia. In 611–12 the Sasanians captured Caesarea, but imperial troops soon recovered the city. Cappadocia became a centre of the imperial war effort against the Persians. By the 640s, Syria had fallen to Arab invasions and the broken armies of Oriens were withdrawn to the highlands behind the shield of the Taurus. The eastern marches and one of the region's great cities, Melitene, eventually came to spawn a Muslim raiding emirate. For the first time in more than half a millennium, Cappadocia lay astride the zone of conflict. Cappadocian society, as it developed over the next four centuries, belonged not only to antiquity and the inherited cultural experience of its Anatolian, Iranian, and Greco-Roman ancestors, but also to the realities of border warfare and frontier life. The world of the emperor and bishop Basil became the world of the *kleisoura* and the double-blooded border lord, Digenis Akritis. The land of beautiful horses became the land of the military aristocracy.

There is a no doubt the seventh century witnessed momentous changes in society, culture, and the state. But one should not be too hasty in assuming a clean break. Many men and women who witnessed the murder of Maurice in 602 lived to hear of the restoration of the True Cross to Jerusalem in 630 and some to hear of the fall of Alexandria to the Arabs in 642. Events were more compressed, the habits of society more continuous, and the memory of the state more durable than is often recalled in scholarly narrative. All of these elements bear on broad questions that engross Byzantine studies and which Cappadocia was enmeshed in one way or another.

When Mu'awiya attacked Caesarea in 646 (whether he 'took' the city or simply raided the suburbs is to our minds debatable), Cappadocia had already experienced generations of military activity, either as a recruiting ground, logistics node, or drill centre. The obvious strategic advantages of the provincial capital, with its relatively new fortifications refurbished under Justinian and its position astride routes that gave it relatively easy access to Armenia, the Euphrates frontier, and Syria had made the city an important military centre. Its access to raw materials and security prior to the troubles of the seventh century had made it a logical choice for an imperial arms factory, works that seem to have persisted despite the intensity of the conflict with the Arabs and Paulicians throughout the following centuries.

The rugged uplands of mountain range and highland steppe produced fine horses and abundant recruits since early antiquity and their cavalry tradition was strong. Cappadocians had served in considerable numbers in the armies of the Achaemenid kings and helped extend Persian power through numerous campaigns in all directions.³³ The satrapy produced an abundance of famous cavalry known from ancient Greek and Roman accounts. The household cavalry of the officers of the satraps was vital to the maintenance of order throughout the territorial divisions of the Achaemenid landscape, and the tradition of equitation and military prowess continued throughout the Roman period. In a religious environment in which war was considered sinful and no war holy, a striking number of Cappadocian saints are military, including the most popular: George, Longinus, Merkourios, and the Forty Martyrs were soldiers all.³⁴

The garrisons noted incidentally in the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers were probably predominantly manned by locals. Noteworthy is the increasing prominence of Cappadocians in military commands, among them Theodorus, a high-ranking commander in the African campaigns of the 530s and 40s; John Daknas, who was *magister utriusque*

militiae in Lazica in the 550's; Maurice, *magister militum per Orientem*; and Herakleios the Elder.³⁵ On his way to the Persian front in 577/78 Maurice recruited troops in Cappadocia.³⁶ In the seventh century, the empire lost access to much of its richest recruiting grounds in Illyricum and the rest of the Balkans; troops from the plateau became ever more important to the survival of the military, even as the majority of the eastern troops were billeted over the various provinces of the old dioceses of Asia and Pontos. In 621/2 Herakleios probably drilled his troops in the vicinity of Caesarea (evidence against a drastic decline of the city following the Persian occupation) and welded them into an effective fighting force.³⁷ Given the long history of local troops serving the imperial armies, the prominence of horses and cavalymen, the shrinkage of potential recruiting grounds, and his family ties to the region, many of Herakleios' soldiers were likely Cappadocians.

How much of the militant outlook of the middle Byzantine aristocracy was inherited from the entrenched order of Late Antiquity is unknown. Though current scholarly consensus is that the troubles of the Dark Ages, the rampant raids and devastation of cities, broke the old, urban-based aristocracy and gave rise to a landscape of independent villages of free small farmers, it seems unlikely in Cappadocia.³⁸ Firstly, there is little reason to suppose that the country-dwelling elite families were unable to absorb the terrific shocks of the Persian and Arab attacks. As we have noted at length, these clans were, for centuries prior, fractious in the extreme and scattered in fortified strongholds throughout the countryside. Here the rural nature of Cappadocia meant that economic assets were spread far and wide, and that there were few targets of opportunity for enemy armies. The major cities fell quickly, but they recovered to some degree because they were central places in an ages-old nexus of communication, trade, and agricultural markets. Portions of Cappadocia functioned without cities as it had for centuries before; whatever ties Cappadocian elites had with urban centres like Tyana, these represented neither the foundational interests of their class, nor the economic underpinnings of their long-term success. Secondly, these 'most greedy of men' described by Basil maintained, by the sixth century at the latest (if they had not always done so), sizeable contingents of *boukellarioi* that in peace time had intimidated their neighbours, but in wartime easily converted to a local militia around which resistance could focus. Even assuming that Arab raiders reached every corner of the countryside, Cappadocians, like other plateau-dwellers, had the tremendous advantage of a sizeable portion of their wealth maintained in slaves and herds – not only were these moved

to safety, but their reproductive abilities meant they could be replaced more reliably and sometimes faster than pillaged crops, devastated earth, and burnt orchards.

Although there is no space here for a thorough discussion of the course of Byzantine-Arab relations in the east, the general picture is well known.³⁹ From the mid-seventh century on, Arab attacks were common; as Cappadocia commanded all the routes that led west towards the Aegean coastlands and the capital, it was often the scene of marching armies and witnessed numerous major clashes. Though raids were an annual occurrence, the Muslims wintered in Cappadocia only rarely and never made a serious attempt to conquer it after their initial failures in the seventh century. After the fall of the Umayyads in 750, the 'Abbasids maintained a brief interest in the western jihad, but as their power crumbled at the end of the ninth century, the threat was limited, with *ghazis* drawn to the border emirates of Melitene and Tarsos, with more distant satellites rising and falling in Syria and Mesopotamia; their interest in jihad against the *Rum* varied. Throughout the century marked by the end of the reign of Herakleios until the reign of Constantine V, there was little shape to the frontier. Until the 750's the Byzantines intended to keep ancient Cappadocia whole, including Melitene, and thus accessing the headwaters of the Euphrates and Greater Armenia. Melitene, however, proved a hopeless salient and efforts to hold the line running from it to Germanikeia had to be abandoned.⁴⁰ After the failure to hold Melitene in 757, the Romans seem to have hoped to block Arab inroads by relying on forts with Arabissos in the centre, Sebasteia in the north, and Podandos and Rodandos in the south. This group of strongholds too failed under the Muslim onslaught when the caliph al-Mahdi (d. 785) devastated Arabissos, after which time the area between Caesarea and Melitene became a no man's land. Although we have just warned in the case of elites that inferring absences from the silence of sources across the eighth and ninth centuries requires caution, former settlements of the region make no appearance in the sigillographic record, and the evidence from the ecclesiastical *notitiae* in this instance cannot be relied upon. Archaeological work needs to be undertaken to help fill the void. The present silence seems to indicate that the cities of the old province of Armenia Tertia (later Maurice's Armenia Secunda) outside of Melitene – Ariaratheia, Arka, Arabissos, Kukusos and Komana – vanished from Byzantine political life. Something on the order of 10,000 km² was thus possibly abandoned by the empire, a wilderness buffer and without doubt the haunt of brigands and settlers bold and hearty enough to endure.

Over the three centuries prior to the major eastern expansion under the Macedonians, Cappadocia certainly felt the force of Muslim attack. Estates were fired; families were slaughtered, reduced to poverty, or fled. But the survival of Cappadocians requires no proof and, given the social and political circumstances of the provinces before the seventh century, those landowners who managed to survive did so through a combination of fight and flight. Despite the inroads of the Arabs, Cappadocian society adapted. It must be stressed, though, that the Cappadocia that emerges in the sources in the tenth century retained the tenorial and social flavour of Late Antiquity and along with it a populous rural landscape dominated by great landowners.

That the Persian invasions and continual Arab raids had done little to either blunt the relentless pursuits of the Anatolian landowning elites, or damage their ability to ruin their neighbours, is the oft-cited *vita* of Philaretos the Merciful from neighbouring Paphlagonia. The work by all accounts accurately depicts rural life in eighth-century Anatolia, the darkest of the dark times. Philaretos was ‘most nobly born’ (*eugenes*) of the men of Pontos and Galatia – a description that echoes the fourth-century *Expositio totius mundi*, in which the inhabitants of Pontos, Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Cappadocia are likened to one another for their high-born, eminent families.⁴¹ At the start of the story of Philaretos, the estates of the protagonist were stolen from by his powerful (*dynaston*) neighbouring farmers and many of his cattle robbed by plundering Arabs (§2). The claim of an ancient family made for the saint and the activities of his aggressive neighbours are both noteworthy. The marriage of the granddaughter of Philaretos to the emperor Constantine VI lends a certain credence to the view that the saint belonged to an old, established family.⁴² Further, the clan of Philaretos had managed to survive the turmoil of the seventh and eighth centuries with their prestige and considerable wealth intact, despite the predations of foreigners and neighbours alike. These neighbours behaved in the manner of bishop Basil’s landowners, seizing through force the lands of their fellow estate holders. The state is a non-factor, neither protecting the populace from enemy raiding parties, nor defending the rights of families and individuals from those who used terror to advance their interests; medieval Anatolia remained a landscape of self-reliance. Though we favour the view that some elite families remained cohesive in some form or another, through marriage alliance, absorption into powerful clans, or other means, their precise bloodlines are immaterial in the end. Through all the troubles of the Dark Ages we need not assume the direct continuation of local elite families, merely the direct survival of local elite habits.

Rise of an elite

Cappadocians seemed to have favoured their relatives to an inordinate degree even by Roman standards. One of the many crimes of John the Cappadocian was the appointment of his relative John 'Lead Chops' (Maxilloplumacius) to the post of *traktator* in Lydia, a province that the extortionate man apparently ruined with ease.⁴³ The first Cappadocian emperor, Maurice, was particularly recalled for his promotion of relatives to important honours and positions. The notice of his advancing of blood interests seems to have been extreme even for those normally immured to the prolific nepotism governing the imperial court. Upon his elevation, Maurice sent for his father Paul, and made him head of the senate. Maurice divided the rich estates – said to rival the holdings of the crown in their extent and value – among his father and brother, Peter. Maurice gave high honours to Peter and briefly made him *magister militum*. He gave further properties to his sisters Theoktiste and Gordia, the latter who was married to Philippikos, *magister militum* of the East.⁴⁴ In addition, John of Ephesus stresses that Maurice

gave to his other relatives large and noble houses belonging to the crown, and studiously enriched them in wealth and rank and honour, and gave them high offices near the royal person, and in every way sought to increase their power.⁴⁵

The emperor furthermore raised his relative Domitian to metropolitan of Melitene and made him a trusted confidant and advisor. Among the delicate responsibilities that Domitian shouldered was accompanying Kosrow II to recover his throne.⁴⁶ Whether Maurice intended to create a familial network to underpin his dynasty and whether his preference for blood as a sinew of politics was personal remain open questions. His strong emphasis on promoting relatives adumbrated the actions of later Cappadocian emperors, who, perhaps even beyond their peers, advanced numerous relatives into influential court and provincial offices. Such actions may reflect Cappadocian tendencies to clannishness and family-based clientage already noted and moreover may demonstrate their unique view of the throne as an heirloom of the aristocracy, as the Komnenoi would finally render it.

It is possible that the famous kin groups familiar from the Middle Period existed in some fashion in Late Antiquity; the dearth of sources and lack of the use of surnames permits only speculation and one can just as easily assume their continuance as their extinction. The Byzantines

themselves could only through mythology weld Middle Period families like the Phokades (Fabii) with the remote Roman past.⁴⁷ Like any organism, the Roman family's primary concern was its own replication and survival into the next generation. Some senatorial clans were remarkably successful. The first attested ranking member of the Fausti, M. Acilius Memmius Glabrio was *curator alvei Tiberis* in the first century; the family remained prominent – the last consul the family produced, through its marriage into the famous Anicii, was Aginatus Faustus in 483 – and the last direct descendent, named Faustus, died in 502.⁴⁸ This run, an astounding 17 generations documented in the sources, is remarkable and probably uncommon – most powerful families can be traced through six or eight generations – but it nonetheless shows the longevity of elite outliers. In light of this it seems unwise to discard the possible link between an inscription of 571 from the region of Synada naming a Botaneiates and the later family, first mentioned in the seal of Andrew, *spatharios* and *anthypatos* in the ninth century, about seven generations later.⁴⁹ Though family names emerge in the sources in the eighth century, and became commonplace only in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Cappadocians seem to have been precocious in their use – prominent eastern magnate families like the Argyroi and Phokades are known as such by the ninth century.⁵⁰

The extent of participation of Cappadocians in prominent positions of state under the successors of Herakleios, the anarchy, and early Isaurian rule remains uncertain because of the lack of sources. In 661/2, the *patrikios* Theodore, a native of Koloneia, was an intimate of Constans II and instrumental in his abandoning moving the capital to Sicily.⁵¹ Beyond this we hear little until the later portion of the first Iconoclast era, when the Cappadocian Peter, the father of St Hilarion the Younger, was a close associate of Constantine V (741–5) or Leo IV (775–80) and 'supplied bread for the emperor's table'.⁵² Despite the fact that no title is mentioned, Peter may well have been a *sakellarios* or *kourator* in charge of imperial lands supplying the imperial victuals. Perhaps his local knowledge and connections in the region helped to maintain whatever remained of the old holdings of the *domus divinae*. Under Constantine V we further see the stirrings of the later grandee families of Anatolia in men like Michael Melissenos, who was the brother-in-law of the emperor, *patrikios*, and *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme.⁵³ Joining him was one of the founding members of the Diogenes family – possibly an archetype of Digenis Akritis – the otherwise unnamed *tourmarch* of the Anatolikon who fell in 788/9 during fierce fighting against the Muslims at Podandos.⁵⁴ Thus we should seek the origins of key elements of the Cappadocian military aristocracy in the eighth century at the latest.

Evidence from the reign of Irene signals changes in the relationship of Cappadocia with the imperial centre. Two of the empress' top officials, the *patrikios* Theodore Kamoulianos and the *logothete* Nikephoros (eventually Nikephoros I), were Cappadocians.⁵⁵ In 798/9 two of the four *patrikioi* that led the white chariot horses of the empress were Cappadocians: Sissinios Tryphillios and his brother Niketas, *domestikos* of the scholai. They hailed from the Triphylion, a suffragan of Caesarea, noted in the so-called *Iconoclast Notitia*.⁵⁶ The family survived in imperial service for at least another generation into the reign of Theophilos in Constantine Tryphillios, whom Genasios remarked was 'fortunate to bear that noble name'.⁵⁷ Constantine Tryphillios and his son Niketas, head of the *eidikon*, were both disgraced due the emperor's fear of a prophecy. Triphylion is unlocalised but, as it belonged to Caesarea, was in the region of Charsianon. The place-name ('three tribes') likely designates the district in which were settled the Ghassan, Tanukh, and Iyad and may make Sissinios and Niketas, like Nikephoros I, of Arab descent. Another of the conspirators, Constantine Boilas may have been another link to the region – the later Boilades were prominent in Pontos and Cappadocia, the latter region having been the family centre of Eustathios Boilas in the eleventh century.⁵⁸

The efforts of Nikephoros I to extend the duration of his lineage in power failed with the death of his son Staurakios and the ouster of his daughter Prokopia's husband, Michael I Rangabe (811–13). Already, however, the roots of the great aristocratic military families for which Anatolia was (in)famous in Byzantine history were established. By 811, Leo Skleros (whom Seibt makes the son or nephew of the Skleros who was *strategos* of Hellas in 805) was already prominent, being *protospatharios* and *strategos* of the Peloponnese.⁵⁹ The Phrygian Melissenoi were by this time also entrenched at the pinnacle of Constantinopolitan society; the patrician Theodotos, son of Michael Melissenos, was a familiar of Michael I and would become patriarch under Leo IV.⁶⁰ Leo Argyros, the first known of this family from Charsianon, served under Michael III (842–67).⁶¹ Of the same generation was the general Nikephoros Maleinos, who, in 866 put down the mutiny of Smbat.⁶² Finally, as noted below, the first Phokas fought with distinction in the wars of Basil I against the Paulicians.⁶³

War, the frontier, and the making of an aristocracy

The conditions that gave rise to the military elite of Anatolia were somewhat different from those that allowed their persistence, for though previous generations produced many ambitious, capable commanders

with the same designs on holding power in perpetuity, we know of none who achieved anything like the success of the scions of the houses that first come to light in the early-mid ninth century. While frontier warfare and their role as warriors provided Cappadocian elites with the opportunity to rise to prominence, and conflict remained a necessary ingredient to their relevance, it was one of a complex mix of social and political realities that allowed their endurance. Key to their longevity beyond the obvious biological factors was the dynastic stability engendered by the Amorian dynasty and the Macedonians after them. Many of the rulers of these dynasties were more interested in affairs in the East than those in the West, a constituent as much driven by the army commanders, the bulk of whom were native to Anatolia, as by ideology or strategic considerations.⁶⁴ The relatively smooth transition from emperor to emperor meant fewer purges and far less turnover in the claque of trusted bureaucrats and soldiers at the heart of the state. This permitted the Cappadocian elite the unprecedented opportunity to gain multi-generational experience in warfare in both East and West, and, equally importantly, it allowed their dendritic expansion through acquisition of territory and blood alliance, through which they built the impressive networks that could raise them as claimants to the throne.

As fortune would have it, the tenure of the Amorian dynasty coincided with the unravelling of the 'Abbasid Caliphate, which came undone at an amazing pace following the death of al-Mu'tasim (833–42).⁶⁵ The autonomous emirates that arose on the borders of Cappadocia provided renewed loci of power and ambition against the Romans, but the Arabs had long since abandoned the notion that Constantinople would fall to them. Instead, jihad became an exercise in pillage, with large- and small-scale raids defining the face of battle. The constant threat of the appearance of the enemy, and their actual infiltration (like the stealthy letter carriers from Syria in *Digenis Akritis*), favoured strong, local landowners and local military commanders of independent initiative who could react quickly, defend their territory, and counter-raid into enemy territory.⁶⁶ The Arab failure to overwhelm the *rumiyya* sparked more pragmatic policies, such as the exchange of prisoners, ten of which occurred from 844–946 that, along with trade, frequent embassies, and the constant sale of Muslim and Christian slaves, meant that the enemy mingled among one another, even as the war smouldered and sometimes flamed up.⁶⁷ In Cappadocia, the Byzantine appreciation, if not liking, of Muslim culture is carved in stone, in the horseshoe arcades of elite palaces; painted in the turbaned aristocrats depicted in churches; and enshrined in *Digenis Akritis* in the honour code that bound the

professional class of opposing military professional elites who had more in common with one another than their civilian subjects.

The scions of the great families of the plateau lived against a backdrop of unrelenting violence. Society over the eastern portion of the plateau adapted, after many painful experiences, to the annual razzias, more occasional full-on imperial Arab assaults, and unceasing raids by the marchers along the eastern flank of Byzantium. After the late Isaurian-era retrenchment to central Cappadocia with its broad buffer of wasteland along the marches of Melitene, the frontier indurated into more distinctive zones of control and outlying regions of influence. But like medieval borderlands as in the Iberian Peninsula, with which Cappadocia shares several similarities, the frontier should be understood to be elastic and shifting through space and time.⁶⁸ As one progressed eastwards from Caesarea, one entered the realm of the outsiders, peopled with the ethnically liminal – Armenians, Iberians, Kurds, Syrians, and Arabs – as well as the spiritually removed – infidel Muslims or heretic Paulicians, Khurramites, and others. Individuals and groups from each community moved to and fro as their fortunes or self-interest demanded. It was a space where in order to navigate one needed to rely on a carefully cultivated set of stereotypes, and where one most needed protection, but few afforded it.

The world recalled by *Digenis Akritis* was the world of the border, fluid and ill-defined, at one time or another described by an arc from Koloneia to Aleppo and Seleukia to Samosata.⁶⁹ *Digenis* recalls a real zone of contention, ranged over by Basil I in his wars against heretics, and by Sayf ad-Dawla – a world recalled around 950 in vivid detail by the *De Velitatione*, which depicts a countryside keenly attuned to the regimen of war, in which networks of spies and lookouts informed the army and populace, the latter who by then were clearly habituated to orderly flight to defensible refuges with their movable goods.⁷⁰ Constant contact, through merchants, embassies, raids, slaving, and prisoner exchanges had imparted intimate knowledge of the enemy on both sides, and an attendant mutual honour code that nevertheless provided plenty of leeway for grotesque atrocities – a la the blasé description of the slaughter of the young women in *Digenis Akritis*.⁷¹

Given the paucity of the evidence, charting the prehistory of the Cappadocian elite is difficult, and some divination from later scraps of information is inevitable. The consistent themes that emerge in the case of these great families are their persistent local connections to their ancestral lands, the role of warfare in enhancing their fortunes, and, once they became embedded within the imperial system, their unflagging

links to Constantinople. There they sought to partake of imperial legitimacy, honour, fame, and fortune. Constituents of the elite families of Cappadocia include immigrants from outside the empire, transplants from other regions of the state, and native Cappadocians themselves. Opaque as is the rise to prominence of many of the individuals, we can thread together something about the dawn of the Skleroi and others. As noted above, the first attestation to a Skleros is the *strategos* of Hellas under Nikephoros I in 805. Nikephoros I must have rewarded Skleros with the rank of *strategos* possibly due to the aid Skleros rendered in putting down the revolt in 803 of Bardanes Tourkos.⁷² As noted below, the Skleroi were at least allies of the Paulicians, if not Paulicians themselves. Unlike his successors, Nikephoros apparently enjoyed strong relations with the Paulicians, whom he viewed as an important source of fighters. Given their support, the emperor no doubt intended to use the Paulicians as his cat's paw against the emirates in the east.

The recruitment of the Skleroi from among the Paulicians and their allies finds support in the appearance of later Skleroi as Armenian march-lords and Arab vassals.⁷³ No first name is provided for the 'son of Skleros' who was, in the 850's, co-ruler (*synarchon*) with 'Umar ibn 'Ubaydallah ibn Marwan al-Sulami, emir of Melitene, but he may have been the offspring of the *strategos* of Hellas of 805.⁷⁴ During the 838 invasion of Roman territory by al-Mu'tasim, 'the son of Skleros' was probably a leader of a portion of the Armenian forces gathered from around Melitene.⁷⁵ 'Umar defeated this Skleros and his Paulician allies and it seems probable that at this time many of the clan entered Byzantium, to which they already had prior ties of service, and in which they remained an influential family into the eleventh century. Strong bonds to the ancestral lands remained, where family partisans offered enduring support. In his revolt against Basil II, Bardas Skleros used the lands around Melitene as a base.

While the Skleroi were among the many immigrants to Byzantium from Armenian and Georgian groups, the Maleinoi probably hailed from Malagina in the Sangarios valley.⁷⁶ Their family fortunes typify several of the top-tier kin groups. Nikephoros Maleinos held a high command – probably *strategos* of Kappadokia or Charsianon given the later landholdings and strong familial ties with the region and his office of *tourmarch* of Charsianon in 866 – and his probable son, Eustathios, was apparently a *droungarios*.⁷⁷ Of his two known grandsons, one, Michael, would become a saint, and the other, the *patrikios* Constantine, was the *strategos* of the theme of Kappadokia in the mid-tenth century.⁷⁸ The fact that by that time the Maleinoi had sprawling landholdings in

Cappadocia argues for their long accumulation from at least the time of Nikephoros. Like the Skleroi, the Maleinoi initially were military leaders and outsiders who made their homes in Cappadocia, where they rooted themselves. According to his hagiographer, Charsianon was the ancestral home of Michael Maleinos (d. 961), a region that his ancestors had recovered from its wild and exposed state.⁷⁹ Movement of this kind was not uncommon. A landed family might move first socially into the upper ranks of the military establishment and thence physically into regions where their commands afforded further opportunity for enrichment.⁸⁰

This was the path taken by two of the most important native-Cappadocian families, the Phokades and the Argyroi. Though the origin of the Phokas family is obscure, later family members held their core estates in Charsianon, in Rocky Cappadocia, and Podandos. In 872, the first known Cappadocian Phokas was *protospatharios* and *tourmarch*, probably in Cappadocia, and during his career was also *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Cherson, *droungarios* of the Aegean, and *strategos* of Anatolia (sic).⁸¹ His son, Nikephoros Phokas the Elder, catapulted the family to enduring fame and prestige, first as *strategos* of Charsianon, then as *domestikon ton scholon*.⁸² The Phokades suffered a momentary reverse when Leo, son of Nikephoros the Elder, was defeated by the Bulgars in the disaster at Anchialos, pushed aside by Romanos Lekapenos in his bid for the throne, and then blinded in 919 after a failed rebellion.⁸³ Leo's brother Bardas eventually served as domestic of the schools and, despite some severe defeats, remained celebrated. Bardas' son Nikephoros eventually became emperor; the fortunes and misfortunes of the family by this time are amply chronicled.

According to Theophanes Continuatus, the first known to carry the surname Argyros was Leo, a *tourmarch* under Theodora for whom he prosecuted war against the Paulicians around 856.⁸⁴ The Argyroi were native Cappadocians from Charsianon, and the family name 'shining' or 'silver' owed in no small degree to their vast wealth, which probably included significant extraction of silver from the ancient veins on Argaios and its environs, such as Akdağmadeni.⁸⁵ The career of Leo Argyros bears strong resemblance to the story of the first Phokas – Leo was a *tourmarch* who distinguished himself in the wars against the Paulicians of Tephrike, in his case during the regency of Theodora and reign of Michael III. Eustathios Argyros, son of Leo, was attached to Caesar Bardas and in 904 held the office of *hypostrategos* of the Anatolikon. Eustathios was renowned for his exploits against the Arabs,

but for reasons not entirely clear fell from his position of *droungarios* of the watch under Leo VI and was murdered.⁸⁶ Eustathios was closely tied to a number of Armenian princes, including Melias and Baasakios, *kleisourarch* of Larissa. Vannier supposes Eustathios Argyros was implicated in the treasonous activities of his protégé Baasakios with the emir of Melitene.⁸⁷ Around 910 Eustathios was exiled to his family estates in Charsianon, where he was poisoned on the road in the environs of Sebasteia.⁸⁸ His son, the younger Leo Argyros took Eustathios' corpse to be interred in a family tomb within the Monastery of St Elisabeth.⁸⁹ Despite such setbacks, the Argyroi, like the Skleroi, Maleinoi, and Phokades, continued to flourish in the imperial hierarchy into the eleventh century, when their stories are well-known to students of Byzantium and will only be dealt with in passing in analysis below.⁹⁰

While many other examples are known, the above-noted famous representatives permit some analysis of the early history of Cappadocian elite. Although the first soldier elites known to us appear in the ninth century these were not the first of their families or kind. All held, almost exclusively, military posts – an obvious corollary of the incessant warfare that gripped the region and the militarisation of the empire from the seventh century on. In each instance they were personally brave fighters in addition to being competent commanders and, at least in the first generations known to us, loyal to the crown. In the crucible of the Arab wars, the warrior ethos replaced the old aristocratic markers of classical education and reserve. The world called for men of violent action, something which Cappadocia had always produced in surplus. It is likely, in fact, that men like the 'first' Phokas and Leo Argyros were already prominent men with private troops and landed wealth by the time they appear in our sources, especially as the theme of the poor man's meteoric ascent through the imperial hierarchy is more myth than reality. Though they lacked titles, new men were often of means and part of considerable networks of influence. Thus the unknown Leo, on his way to becoming Leo III, received the title of *spatharios* by providing Justinian II with some 500 sheep; the future Basil I, though born poor, found his fortune with the spectacularly wealthy widow Danelis, whose connections he parleyed into a position in the inner circle of Michael III.⁹¹ These examples caution us that men of ambition who rose to prominence in Byzantium seldom began without substantial resources. It is in this light, then, that we should see Leo Argyros, whom Theophanes Continuatus posited received his surname because of his outstanding character and physical appearance but also stressed his blood (*genea*).⁹²

Whether the noble heritage is mythmaking on the part of the families or of the historians remains to be seen. Assuming there is truth to it, it is probably fair to see an analogous case in the presentation of the 'Phokas' father of Nikephoros Phokas the Elder to Basil I. While the parent of Nikephoros may well have been the first socially prominent member of the family, it seems unlikely. Skylitzes, who demonstrates little regard for the Phokades, called Nikephoros the Elder a 'high-born man' (*gennaios*), hardly an apt description if his father was a common soldier.⁹³

These strands when viewed together imply men much better placed in society than humble soldiers of the line. What is more, the strong ancestral associations of some families with specific places in Cappadocia indicate a long affiliation with the territory and its people. If the hypothesis of the earliest known representatives of the military elite being representatives of older, landed families holds, their swift promotions and staying power makes more sense. Many of the Anatolian elites had something to offer to the emperor beyond bravery and their sword arms – like the Argyroi they had local, and often regional, connections developed during decades of survival along the perilous frontier. This survival depended on protecting what they owned, which in turn required clients and householders who were fighters. Success also demanded the kind of savvy and leadership qualities that made them ideal for regional commands.

As we have mentioned, chronologically their appearance in the sources coincides with the rule of the Amorians, but especially the early Macedonians. Two consequential moments may be noted here. The first is the outreach of Nikephoros I, who drew into his service Armenians and Paulicians living in the frontier, whence arrived some of the Skleroi. Some of these cadres were alienated during the reversal of the policy of toleration by Theodora, among whom was Karbeas, who served as *protomandator* under the *strategos* of the Anatolikon Theodotos Melissenos. Karbeas fled to establish the federation of raider states on the eastern fringes of the empire.⁹⁴ In the second instance, the subsequent time of aggression initiated under Theodora and Michael III, local Anatolian families campaigned into the eastern marches, where they enhanced their reputations; the prime examples being Doukas and Argyros. During the Paulician wars of Basil in the 870's, Cappadocian commanders continued to solidify their positions and the Phokades, meanwhile, rose to imperial prominence through their successful general Nikephoros the Elder.⁹⁵ Despite the setbacks of failed revolts and suspicion, the Anatolian military families maintained their standing

under Leo VI. Leo drove out Andronikos Doukas and beheaded his treacherous son Constantine, and exiled Eustathios Argyros.⁹⁶

Nevertheless, the reign of Leo VI marked a crossroads for emperor and elites. Leo refashioned the administrative landscape of the east, the impetus for which was surely the fall of Tephrike, which he organised as a *kleisoura*.⁹⁷ This created a salient north of the raiding emirate of Melitene that spurred the Byzantines to begin colonising the no-man's land east of Caesarea. Access to land was a dominant motivator in the participation of eastern elites within the imperial system, because although they might have been able to seize such lands themselves, the benefits of living within the imperial boundaries had obvious advantages, at least at this maturation stage of the military aristocracy.

The Argyroi were certainly instrumental in the early tenth-century settlement of Armenian colonists under Melias and his three brothers. Melias wrote to Eustathios Argyros, *strategos* of Charsianon, and likely the negotiations proceeded with the latter's help. With their Armenian colonists, Melias ensconced himself in Lykandos as *kleisourarch*, while his brother Baasakios became the *kleisourarch* of Larissa.⁹⁸ The Arab comrade of Melias, Ismael, became *kleisourarch* of Symposion, which by 910 maintained a *tourma*, and the *kleisoura* of Tzamandos was also settled by Melias and his kin.⁹⁹ The massive influx of Armenian civilians and soldiers brought about 5500 km² under imperial control and double that with the territory along the marches to Tephrike – a huge leap, after two and a half centuries of retrenchment. The opening of these lands, rich with potential and for the most part empty of settlement, fuelled the ambitions of the eastern families. Thus we find the Phokades holding lands in the midst of the old early medieval Hexakomia flanking the pass between Melitene and Lykandos (today Açadağ district, Malatya), a refuge later used by Romanos IV Diogenes following his betrayal and defeat at Mantzikert.¹⁰⁰

Along the frontier the powerful maintained themselves through blood ties conditioned by wealth based on land, and, especially in the absence of kinship, through clientage. Ultimately, the regional elites were themselves clients of the emperor, or at least those who were title or officeholders. Their protection derived from their material resources, their prestige, and their networks of kin and satellites, who could be trusted to follow the magnates, and, if necessary, avenge them. Thus we see in the early military elites of the Middle Period echoes of the household retainers noted in Late Antiquity. During the reign of Michael III, Eustathios Argyros is said to have gone 'alone' (*monos*) to combat the Paulicians of Tephrike and the Arabs of Melitene, accompanied only by

his household (*oikogenon*), surely here a reference to personal soldiers maintained on his estates.¹⁰¹ Likewise, in 953, during an unexpected encounter with the forces of Sayf ad-Dawla, Bardas Phokas was deserted by his army but saved by his household bodyguard (*therapontes*).¹⁰² In these instances, when imperial aims and personal interests were in harmony, such professional retainers posed no threat and in fact, as in Late Antiquity, were among the core effectives of the provincial forces.

If all politics are local, then the elites in their home districts were induced to fight for the empire for many reasons beyond the basic of protecting their homes and properties, and those of their allies. The tremendous cachet possessed of the imperial dignity remained constant and coveted, and the emperor offered elites the ultimate form of patronage. The honours bestowed from the throne were rare, precious currency, and military command that promised access to a vast network of potential supporters, clients, and patrons. The prestige of high office enhanced their nobility – imperial service was a mark of *eugenia* which was, throughout the Macedonian period, becoming more sharply etched into the Byzantine consciousness and in danger of becoming a requisite to command. Although his experiences with them were mixed, Leo VI stated that well-born generals were to be preferred to others.¹⁰³ Material advantages abounded. Salaries were, however, probably only a minor component in maintaining elite interest. The ninth-century salary of a *tourmarch*, the position where many of the elites first appear, was 3 lb of gold (216 *nomismata*), hardly a vast sum and unlikely in and of itself to have been the prime inducement to serve.¹⁰⁴ Use of the significant resources of the *dromos* and sequestering soldiers and military assets for personal gain belonged to their position. Most importantly, senior military posts offered prospects for extraordinary material gains – plunder was a critical resource for maintaining and expanding the household. Later events would prove that the chance to campaign, with the hope for glory and booty that attended, was coveted and viewed as a privilege of the Anatolian military families. Campaigns, especially in the east in territories near the home domains of the military elites, offered the chance to expand one's holdings through outright conquest, seizure, or illegal occupation of territories claimed by the emperor.

Actions such as these, as well as the lethal danger of Arab raids, threat from brigands and freebooters, and later from roving Turks led to the incastellamento of Cappadocia and the East. Castles and refuges whither civilians fled with their stock during enemy attacks were ubiquitous, protecting settlements, passes, and other strategic points in the contested zone. The remnants of these may be found at

al-Agrab, Lulon, Lykandos, and elsewhere.¹⁰⁵ Many of the fortresses were built and maintained by the state to observe, forestall, or repel Arab attacks. Others, from their inception or after their abandonment or loss by the state, were clearly private property of powerful families – yet another resounding echo of Late Antiquity, when fortified estate centres dominated the landscape, and renegades against the crown took refuge in such strongholds.¹⁰⁶ Although such fortified nodes naturally offered protection and bases from which the *dynatoi* operated against the Muslim enemy, they appear in our sources with increasing frequency as positions from which the military class defied the emperor. Thus, Bardas Skleros anchored his revolt where he stored his treasury – the fortress of Kharput (Elâziğ), about 85 km northeast of Melitene.¹⁰⁷ Following his defeat by Bardas Skleros, Bardas Phokas fled to his fortress of Tyropoion, in the mountain country between Melitene and Arabissos – the same tower in which he later imprisoned Skleros.¹⁰⁸ Andronikos Doukas, under suspicion by Leo VI, had fled to the fortress of Karbala north of Ikonion, and later Isaac Komnenos, in revolt against Michael VI, sent his wife to the fortress of Pemolissa on the Halys, probably a family possession.¹⁰⁹

While this ungovernable behaviour culminated in the usurpation of the Komnenoi and the radical transformation of Byzantium in their hands, the conflict of Constantinople with the provincial establishment had deep causes, and thus a view of the relations of state within Cappadocia is necessary. Assessing the extent of government control and influence, especially in the dark days of the seventh and eighth centuries will, however, leave many questions unanswered.

Cappadocia in the Byzantine state: seventh–eleventh centuries

The shock of the Persian and Muslim invasions placed Cappadocia on the front lines, whose strategic necessity to the empire was underscored by its considerable wealth, land and agricultural produce, its communications network, and the presence of the imperial workshops and arms manufactory at Caesarea. For the early medieval period, from the seventh through ninth centuries, the central question is the degree and pace of change, while for the tenth through twelfth centuries historiography has cast the region as the backdrop of the centre-periphery conflict that plagued the empire.

Cities like Caesarea, Koloneia, Sebasteia, and Herakleia continued to function through the seventh and eighth centuries, but their populations, resources, and social roles likely diminished as did urban centres everywhere.¹¹⁰ The widespread decline of cities was a blow to

the economic and administrative sinews of the empire, but the hand of the state in Cappadocia had in all likelihood been exercised through the imperial domains, via the garrisons and fortresses, and through the network of imperial road stations of the *cursus publicus* (*dromos*). This remained the case in the seventh century, during which time these durable institutions, hardwired into the geographical fabric of the provinces, focused increasingly on military supply and the preservation of resources in the face of constant foreign aggression. Nevertheless, given the expanse of the territory, frequency of violent incursions, as well as the anarchy caused by numerous military revolts, the seamless operation of the bureaucracy is doubtful. But the survival of core structures, such as the imperial factories and estates, connected the provincials in the periphery with Constantinople.

Sometime shortly after the 636 disaster at Yarmuk, the state withdrew its eastern forces to the Anatolian plateau. The soldiers seem to have been billeted throughout the countryside in villages and fortresses; not, as in Late Antiquity, in major population centres. The reason for their dispersal has been linked to the nature of army pay and supply – the paucity of surplus in the shrunken, natural economy made their emplacement in remaining cities too burdensome, and the logistics of taxation in-kind from the second half of the seventh century until around 730 called for troops to be placed close to their sustaining populations. The state settled troops from the armies of the East (Anatoliks) and the Armenian command (Armeniaks) over the region, but the nature of their installation remains contested, with some seeing the soldiers as receiving lands in return for service while others believe service remained hereditary and free of any obligation derived from the land until the ninth or tenth century. Treadgold estimates that around 775 the various themes and *kleisourai* comprising Cappadocia sustained around 11,000 men (8800 infantry and 2200 cavalry).¹¹¹ Had these men in fact received allotments from the state, a crude estimate places the area of arable required to support them at around 771km² (77,100 ha or about 963,750 *modioi*), or probably less than 10 per cent of the arable land available to the state in the sixth-century *domus divinae*. Thus, if such a settlement did take place under Herakleios and his successors, it would appear that the crown possessed sufficient lands to enact it, even after the losses incurred under Justinian and his successors.

The imperial post, the *dromos*, continued to function in Anatolia throughout the medieval period. As noted in Chapter 3, more than 50 late antique stations are known in Cappadocia, and these were simultaneously expensive to maintain, critical to the state, and an essential

consumer of Cappadocian animals and fodder. During the decades of crisis from the mid-seventh through the mid-eighth century, despite the expense of their maintenance, there is no clear evidence that the number of halting places in Cappadocia was reduced. Here the available evidence, preliminary as it is, at first glance provides a high degree of continuity. Of the 57 road stops (*mansiones/stathmoi*) recorded by Hild and Restle, 44 possess textual or physical evidence indicating medieval settlement activity.¹¹² This is not to suggest that the *dromos* continued unaltered or that certain stations did not fall into disuse while some others emerged, but given the persistence of routes and traffic on the major roads of the area, it seems that the imperial *dromos* remained a consistent and important state presence in Cappadocian life and a key interface between the government and citizens. This infrastructure was no doubt kept up in large part because of the frequent movement of troops to the east that required extensive planning and logistical support.¹¹³ In addition to postal matters, and possibly still transport of heavy goods via ox cart (*platys dromos*), imperial road depots (*mitata*) often collected animals owed as tax, while official hostels (*xenodocheia*) housed foreign merchants and dignitaries. Both components were part of the system from at least Late Antiquity.¹¹⁴ Several road halts also functioned as imperial estate centres during the early Byzantine era, and at least one of these, Drizion, continued to do so after the seventh century. During the mid-seventh to mid-eighth centuries, when taxes were levied predominantly in kind, the *stathmoi* were without a doubt key administrative points, probably still home to tax officials, and, as in Late Antiquity, possessing public granaries and storehouses.

As with other late antique structures, the evidence of the *fabricae* and *gynaikeia* after the sixth century is slender in the extreme. It seems only reasonable that the *kommerkiarioi-apotheke* machinery dealt with those imperial workshops that survived the devastation and displacement of the Persian and Arab wars, and some in fact persisted in the conquered territories in the *al-qaysariyya* in Syria and Egypt.¹¹⁵ Seals of the *ergasteriarchai* and the *archontes tou blattiou*, officials in charge of the imperial workshops that produced cloth and other stuffs for the crown, appear steadily from the second-half of the seventh century; these indicate continuing government involvement and regulation in the production of goods, some of which may have taken place in Cappadocia. Twenty-eight seals naming these offices are known from 668–786.¹¹⁶ None of these, however, lists a location to which the official may be linked, and it is generally assumed that the arms manufactories, silk works and other state enterprises were for the most part confined to Constantinople.¹¹⁷

Since Koloneia and Caesarea were both *aplekta* prior to the reign of Constantine VII, it seems probable that these assembly points and warehouses imply local manufacturing, while tenth-century sources indicate the production of arms in Caesarea.¹¹⁸ Bathys Rhyax also maintained this important imperial infrastructure. The strategic considerations that sparked the decision by the authorities to locate the *fabrica* there in the first place, that is, proximity to the eastern frontier, access to fuel, iron, and security of strong fortifications, prevailed in the seventh through ninth centuries. Despite the frequent Arab attacks on Charsianon and Cappadocia, it seems that Caesarea faced major attack only rarely. In 646 Mu'awiya seems to have penetrated the suburbs but not sacked the city; Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik attacked in 726, but his campaign is not treated in any detail and the damage to Caesarea is unknown, and thus unlikely to have been too devastating.¹¹⁹ Of the numerous attacks on the city mentioned above in Chapter 1, we have only one probable sack of the city in the 456 years from the 611 Persian attack until the sack in 1067 by Turks. It seems, then, that general insecurity blamed for the closure of the *fabricae* (*armamenta*) via attrition and loss to some degree of the skilled armament workers probably happened on one occasion – in 726. In light of this, the case for continuity of some kind becomes more attractive. Likewise, the cloth industry (if not the factories themselves) that functioned in Late Antiquity likely also survived – indeed, the continued surplus production of large flocks meant that the surplus fleeces were worked somewhere; these were probably either spun in Caesarea or elsewhere in the region and likely included household production. The abundance of raw materials and proximity to the major eastern armies settled throughout the old diocese of Pontos and Asia weighs heavily in favour of Cappadocia continuing its role as a weapons and clothing manufacturer. From the mid-seventh through the mid-eighth century, the *apotheke* collected these goods as taxes and as rents on imperial lands, reserving them in state warehouses – in all probability in depots among the more important *stathmoi* and in the *aplekta*. Assuming our view of some form of continuation of the *armamenta* and *gynakeia* is correct, by the mid-eighth century, a portion of their products may have been sold and generated a portion of the cash taxes and rents increasingly apparent in the sources.

Since the Byzantine crown held considerable lands in the area in the sixth century, access to these resources was vital as the means of the state frayed following the loss of half of the imperial territory and three-quarters of its revenues. There are no post sixth-century data specific to Cappadocia that allow us to know the fate of the *domus*

divinae per Cappadociam of Late Antiquity. Yet it is evident that some imperial holdings persisted. One intriguing figure is the mid-/late-seventh century George described as *hypatos*, *basilikos spatharios*, and *kourator* of the *basilikoi oikoi* (the old empire-wide *domus divinae*).¹²⁰ An inscription on the land walls of Constantinople names Konstantinos, *apo hypaton*, *patrikios*, *endoxatos*, and *kourator of the basilikou oikou ton Marines*, and indicates that individual imperial estate centres continued to exist, probably under the authority of a central *kourator ton oikon*.¹²¹ The *kouratores* were apparently entitled to a portion of the estate's production, and as such these posts must have been extremely lucrative. In 803, the emperor Nikephoros I awarded *kouratoreia* to the future Leo V and Michael II for defecting to him during the rebellion of Bardanes Tourkos.¹²²

This centralised estate manager probably continued to oversee imperial lands in Cappadocia once the region was divided into thematic districts, with the lion's share falling to the Armeniakon, the boundaries of which in turn resembled those of the old Pontic diocese less its lands west of the Halys. Though the behaviour of local elites noted above offers a bad prognosis for the body of imperial holdings in Cappadocia, during Late Antiquity the crown claimed around 15–18 per cent of the land in Anatolia and a much higher proportion, perhaps 30 per cent, of Cappadocia, including arable land, pasture, forest, wasteland, and probably mines.¹²³ It is thus unlikely in the extreme that all of these estates were lost to the crown.

Evidence of possible continuity comes from Podandos, which lay above the Cilician Gates and along the main route from Cilicia. The place changed hands many times in the conflict with the Muslims. Despite numerous Arab attacks and interruptions of control – in 708 the area was the summer headquarters of al-'Abbas and in 833 al-Ma'mun died nearby – the place remained in Byzantine hands. It was the scene of an Arab defeat in 789 when Theophanes called it *kome Podandon* and noted that it lay within the Anatolikon. This continued to be so, despite its contested history. Podandos was the meeting point of several prisoner exchanges, and in 878 the site of the victory of the *stratelates* Andrew over an Arab raiding army returning from the Cappadocian interior.¹²⁴ During Late Antiquity, Podandos had functioned as an imperial estate centre (*regio*) along with numerous others in the region of southern Cappadocia.¹²⁵ In 976 John I Tzimiskes passed through Podandos which was, along with the area of Anazarbos, one of the locales in which there were again extensive imperial holdings. Leo the Deacon names specifically the imperial estates of Longinus

(probably the old endowment of the Cilician shrine of the saint noted in Chapter 5) and Drizion; Skylitzes is more general, noting lands in the region of Anazarbos and Podandos.¹²⁶ Tzimiskes learnt that these former imperial estates, some of which were spear-won in his campaigns and those of Nikephoros II, had been poached by Basil Parakoimomenos for his personal holdings. As noted, however, the lands of this region were not recently conquered, but within first the Anatolikon theme, then that of Charsianon. More critical is the survival of a seal of an *episkepsis* of Podandos showing that in the late tenth century, the emperor possessed lands there.¹²⁷ In all likelihood, these were the same, or a kernel of the lands of the old, vast *regio Podandos*.

The mention by Leo the Deacon of Drizion (Kınıkörenleri Harabeleri), located about 70 km northwest of Podandos, is also important. Drizion lay at the southwestern corner of a territory defined by the late antique estate centres of Mokissos, Doara, and, just to the west, Andabalıs. These four estates neatly frame the whole of the mountain district comprised of Melendiz Dađı and Mt Argaios (Hasan Dađı), leading to the obvious conclusion that the entire alpine district (approximately some 2200 km²) was, like the mountain forests of Lebanon under the early Roman empire, crown land.¹²⁸ In fact, the imperial domains may have been even greater in extent, including much of the territory leading up to and around Podandos in a more or less contiguous holding. A natural link would be with the ancient royal domains of the last Cappadocian king Archelaos, who built his eponymous centre that was later absorbed and colonised by the Romans to become the city Colonia Claudia Archelaos, and thence Byzantine Koloneia. This parallels the extreme longevity of imperial holdings elsewhere in the East, such as the balsam fields in Palestine that once belonged to King Herod, but which remained imperial property in the sixth century.¹²⁹

Thus, we see evidence suggesting some imperial domains, or portions of them, survived the rapacity of the highland elites and disasters of the Arab invasions into the tenth century. But the extent of the holdings and their nature is the crux of the matter. Enmeshed in the scholarly debates on the fate of the imperial lands are a series of important questions, among them the possibility of the granting of imperial estates to soldiers – and ultimately the nature of the establishment of the army in Anatolia following the disastrous first encounters with the Muslims – the relationship of the state and the provinces during the Dark Ages, and the creation of the themes. These issues in aggregate have spawned a vast bibliography and none of them have been satisfactorily dealt with, nor, in light of the paucity of evidence,

is debate likely to cede.¹³⁰ As the most exposed portion of the empire, a considerable repository of wealth and fighting men, and once the largest assemblage of imperial lands, the complexion of crown lands in Cappadocia impinges on all of these matters.

One argument is that these lands diminished in size from their late antique peak. As Treadgold notes, the officialdom charged with supervision of the state lands was, by the Middle Period, modest in rank and title; a fact that indicates a reduced role incumbent on a loss or deliberate alienation of government holdings.¹³¹ Hendy notes that twelfth-century state landholdings in Asia Minor (losses to the Turks aside) feature far less prominently in the sources than do their European counterparts, and thus negative evidence suggestive of a real decline.¹³² Both Treadgold and Hendy argue that imperial estate lands were provided to troops in return for military service. Based in part on a group of *kommerkiarioi* seals dated to the eighth century, Hendy developed the hypothesis that soldiers received their equipment from the taxes in kind delivered to the *apotheke*, the administration of which were overseen by *kommerkiarioi* whose distribution and jurisdictions were often quite scattered.¹³³

The *apotheke* were centres within a system of imperial warehouses as well as the office governing that warehouse system. These depots had originally functioned as sales points for surplus imperial goods. Following the Arab advance, which crippled the economy, their officers and structures were converted to receive not only the production from state factories, but also taxes levied in kind from their regions. Brandes sees in their establishment clear evidence of the early development of the themes.¹³⁴ In the region of Cappadocia, there are late seventh-century *kommerkiarioi* of the *apotheke* attested in a seal naming the Armeniak (army).¹³⁵ In the early eighth century these appear for Koloneia; from the mid-eighth century for the Anatolikon theme. The presence of the *apotheke* and their corresponding *kommerkiarioi*, specifically the *genikoi kommerkiarioi*, are in Cappadocia attested by seals of Stephen, *patrikos kai genikos kommerkiarios apothekes Helenopontou kai pases (?) Kappadokias* (659/68). The same is listed in another seal as *kommerkiarios* of the *apotheke* of Kappadokia I and II. From 683/4 or 686/7 as well as 687/8 we know of Kosmas, *stratelates kai genikos kommerkiarios a' kai b' Kappadokias*. In 689, Peter was *hypatos, kai genikos kommerkiarios apothekes ton Kappadokion, Lykaonias kai Pisidias*. Kosmas appears in 690/1 as *apo hypaton kai genikos kommerkiarios apothekes a' (kai) b' Kappadokias*. Finally, there are three seals naming George (possibly more than one individual of that name), the first 690/2 *patrikos*

kai genikos kommerkiarios apothekes b' Kappadokias kai Lykaonias; the second of 691/2 *skribon kai genikos kommerkiarios Kappadokias a'*, and the third of 694/5 *apo hypaton ton andrapodon ton Sklabon a' kai b' Kappadokias*.¹³⁶

The last of these belongs to a group of seals interpreted as supporting the role of the *genikoi kommerkiarioi* and the *apotheke* in military supply and, according to Hendy and Brandes, in the landing of prisoners of war, particularly the Slavic settlers transferred to Asia Minor by Justinian II.¹³⁷ From an early date *kommerkiarioi* are attested belonging to the troops of the Anatolikon and Armeniakon armies. In particular, a cluster of seals of George, all dated to 694/5 and displaying different regions, including Caria, Lycia, Bithynia, Phrygia Salutaris, and Kappadokia but all bearing the inscription *ton andrapodon*, are connected with the population movements and recruitment of Slavic warriors for the Arab war of 695, when the Slavs defected to the Arabs and Justinian was subsequently deposed – but not before ordering a massacre of those family members who remained behind.¹³⁸ Although this discussion has glossed much of the details of far more complicated issues, there are several points to stress. There is an irrefutable linkage of the *kommerkiarioi* with the *apotheke*, and no serious challenge has been sustained against the reasonable supposition that both institutions dealt with state taxation and the supply of materiel in the provinces. Nor is it in dispute that their new functions (post- *ca* 650) reflected the situation engendered by defeat at the hands of the Arabs. Confirmed by the seals is the presence of the *apotheke* in both provinces Cappadocia I and II, while the northeastern regions, including those around Sebasteia, were supplied from Koloneia on the Lykos in southern Pontos. There must have been a considerable contingent of Slavs settled in Cappadocia, since the village of Gypsarion, the last Byzantine station on the road through the Cilician Gates via Podandos, is called in Arabic sources Hisn as-Saqaliba (fortress of the Slavs).¹³⁹ As the site lies 7 km south of Podandos, it must have been part of the imperial estate and therefore a probable instance of state settlement of soldiers and their families on crown lands.

It could be argued that the settlement of the prisoners of war under Justinian II was anomalous and therefore tasked the *genikoi kommerkiarioi* and *apotheke* outside their normal functions as tax assessment, collection, and distribution organs. However, it seems more likely that the late antique practice of granting *laetus* to bodies of foreign troops was significant and widespread in Cappadocia. In the seventh century there was the settlement of Arab allies and Slavic prisoners, in the eighth century captives from the raids of Constantine V, and in the

ninth the Khurramites dispersed by Theophilos throughout the provinces.¹⁴⁰ Though we have few details, it seems probable that, like the Slavs of Gypsarion, these groups were settled on imperial estates, but whether they farmed the land themselves is debatable. So *some* soldiers were settled on state lands from an early period, but as Haldon and Brandes have suggested, whether they did gets us no closer to the question of the precise development of the *stratitika ktemata* known from the tenth century.¹⁴¹ Further discussion is unwarranted until new evidence, probably from seals, offers the opportunity to return to analysis.¹⁴²

Power was mediated through wealth rooted in the land. The power networks of owners, patrons, clients, officials, soldiers, and clerics were satellites in the constellation of land, prestige, titles, office-holding, blood ties, marriage alliances, ethnic affiliations, and the ties of profession and common interests. As with all empires, any one of these competed, locally and regionally, with the aims and interests of those in whom the state was vested. In the early Byzantine era, the power brokers were the old landed senatorial families, churchmen, and courtiers of the imperial bureaucracy. By the Middle Byzantine era, these had been replaced by the mandarins of the imperial bureaucracy, whose activities were increasingly bound to influential families, powerful ecclesiastics and institutions, and the military aristocracy, the warlords of highland Anatolia. Nowhere is this more readily on display than in Cappadocia.

Two strands that bind the narrative of Cappadocia with the imperial centre are the eastern conquests and the Macedonian land legislation. The former rests at the heart of the rise of the military elite of Anatolia, and the latter in their alleged discomfiture at the hands of Basil II. Both subjects have received considerable and capable treatment, and though many questions remain the central historiographic discussion has focussed on the threat posed by families on the margins to the centre and the response of the state to these threats.¹⁴³ Historians have fixated on what arrested the Byzantine historians of a later generation: the epic struggle between the rightful emperor, the leonine Basil II, and his worthy adversaries, who are cast in an almost chivalric pale as the two oaks of the eastern military establishment, the Phokades and Skleroi. These figures have become symbols of 'centre' and 'periphery' respectively. Once more, the historiography of these incidents has recently been discussed and we need not turn over well-ploughed ground.¹⁴⁴

As has been argued above, eastern military families were mainly well off before they became prominent in state service, but through battlefield success and shrewd political manoeuvres, as Howard-Johnston has

noted, they were particularly disciplined to the function of the state, and during the ninth through eleventh centuries they supped on offices and titles, unable to imagine an alternative diet to the scraps from the emperor's table.¹⁴⁵ The story of their re-imagining is a critical one.

During the eighth and ninth centuries, the stony ground of incessant campaigns, raids and counter-raids, and general insecurity were fertile territory for many Cappadocian elites. The likes of the Phokades, Skleroi, and Diogenes, along with a host of lesser satellites that did not burn bright enough to illuminate the sources, benefited in two primary ways from the necessity of war. War heaped honour upon them; their service earned for them honours and titles from their emperors, while their personal courage and successful leadership won the admiration of their troops and the local populace, who benefitted directly from the security the marchers provided. War bestowed treasure, won at a high cost in blood and at a threat to the survival of their families – the fall of the great Diogenes, *tourmarch* of the Anatolikon at Podandos, in 788/9 could have spelled the doom of the male line and extinction.¹⁴⁶ Through the eighth and ninth century, the elites garnered spoils of defence – prestige and the belongings of enemy soldiers. Beginning with the reign of Basil I, they reaped the spoils of offence – the goods, land, and even persons of their enemies. From the dissolution of the Paulician raider state, it became obvious that the pickings of the offensive war were preferable to waiting at home to ambush incoming raiders. As is well known, the ejection in January 945 of the Lekapenoï by Constantine VII was backed by the brute force of the loyalist Phokades led by the talented and experienced Bardas and his sons Leo and Nikephoros. Bardas and Nikephoros were the architects of the peak of tenth-century eastward expansion and were Cappadocians with a family of military service that was at least a century old and had attained prominence in the service of the first Macedonian, Basil. Their pedigree, their family wealth, and their actions were second to none – realisation of which led Bardas' father, Leo, to attempt to seize power in 917.¹⁴⁷ Outmanoeuvred by Romanos I Lekapenos, Leo failed in a revolt in 919 which was only a prelude to a symphony of insurrection over a century to come.

In turning to Bardas, Constantine VII overlooked the sins of the father, who would have deprived him of his throne. Out of political necessity or, more likely, an ideology in an age when the empire was confident it would restore its late antique borders, the emperor embraced the eastern push managed by the Phokades against the newly resurgent border emirates galvanised by the vigorous leadership of the Hamdanid emir, Sayf ad-Dawla. Results were mixed at this stage,

but in addition to notable victories, the Phokades gained invaluable command experience and precious insights in conducting offensive warfare, a mode of conflict to which the Byzantines were generally not accustomed. Though Sayf ad-Dawla continued to hold the view that war was to be waged on the Byzantine side of the Taurus, as events unfolded, the skill and quality of Byzantine generalship, foremost among them Nikephoros II and John Tzimiskes, meant that Arab control of Syria seeped away fortress by fortress.¹⁴⁸

From these campaigns, there can be little doubt that the eastern commanders gained considerable moveable wealth and lands, but it is questionable whether the quest for additional personal territories was a prime motivator. Nikephoros II Phokas was predominantly driven by a genuine conviction that he was, in some fashion, an instrument of God in fulfilling the empire's destiny of restoration, a fact revealed by his request of patriarch Polyeuktos to sanctify soldiers fallen against the infidel.¹⁴⁹ Victory in the east signalled a rebalancing of the cosmos with Christ's deputy once again at the centre of the world order.

The prevailing view holds that elite families were land-starved, eager to add to their personal domains and to enfeoff themselves of spear-won lands. Simultaneously, they used every opportunity – the famine of 927/8 especially, though any sort of hardship would do – to dispossess the poor, including the soldiers to whom they were bound by iron sinews of reciprocity, of every scrap of their land.¹⁵⁰ Land greedy they certainly were. Yet the record of elite appropriation of the newly won lands is mixed. Less prominent families or late-comers who found themselves crowded out of expansion in Cappadocia and elsewhere in the imperial core, tended to root along the freshly conquered regions, such as the Bourtzes in Antioch, and the displaced Eustathios Boilas in Edessa. Older families like the Phokades and Argyroi had, it seems, been largely satisfied by the huge expansion under Leo VI that put their estates further east and southeast of Caesarea. Romanos I Lekapenos felt no compunction about awarding huge imperial territories to the monastery of Lakape in his home town. In the meantime, the same emperor vigorously decried the tactics of the *dynatoi* in their dispossessing the poor. Yet, it was Romanos I who created the imperial domain of Melitene, with the city and the whole of its territory under the management of state officials, and its peasants obviously becoming the emperor's own.¹⁵¹ John Tzimiskes, the quintessential Cappadocian aristocratic warlord, was swift to order the confiscation and re-allocation to the fisc of properties plundered by Basil the Parakoimomenos, who was his co-ruler and accomplice in the murder of Nikephoros II and yet also

a Lekapenos.¹⁵² Nikephoros II had issued some of the most severe and menacing of the series of laws attempting to curb the accumulation of land into the hands of the wealthy – a fact certain to be to the disadvantage of his class that probably played a role in his unpopularity and eventual assassination.¹⁵³

Broadly speaking though, a clear pattern is discernable of interlocking and often conflicting bonds of public and private duty, embedded within constructs of honour. Romanos Lekapenos was an honourable family member. As emperor he was the north star in the constellation of his kin, and naturally looked to as a major source of support, gifts, advancement, and protection. As a family member of the Lekapenoi, he acted in the interests of his clan and its long-term survival, granting relatives state lands and honours, and endowing family monasteries with state property. As emperor, though, it was his duty to safeguard the state, the financial stability of which was threatened by the expanding and obstructionist power of his own class. In the wake of the famine of 927/8 that upset a substantial portion of Byzantine society and revealed potential long-term weaknesses in the access of state to resources, the creation of the *kouratoreia* of Melitene reflects, first and foremost, an effort to brace government finance. Certainly his actions proscribed acquisitions by the powerful in the rich hinterland of Melitene, even as Romanos rewarded his own family monastery in Lakape with rich legacies from the newly conquered Armenian themes. Had his intent been to wall-off elites from adding the new lands to their estates, Romanos would have been acting against two of his most powerful Anatolian supporters – the Argyroi, whose family holdings lay adjacent to Melitene, and the Skleroi, who also possessed domains there.

Although a paradigm of the provincial *dynatos*, Nikephoros II Phokas, whose influence at home depended on a vast network of clients, only reinforced the land laws of his predecessors.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, his most famous law in the corpus of land legislation is that which prohibited the aggrandisement of the church, though the emperor permitted the rehabilitation of dilapidated institutions. His concerns were the poverty of some houses on one hand and, on the other, the riches and worldliness of other establishments. Nikephoros specifically pointed to Lakape as the example for what must stop, thereby conjoining protection of the state and furtherance of a family rivalry. Unsurprisingly, though, Phokas' main concern was with the stability of the soldier's lands and through them the supply of soldiers to staff his expansionist campaigns.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, the 'soldier's manifesto' found in the *de velitatione* depicts the countryside of the eastern borderlands as the scene of

government abuse against the soldiery, who were victimised by imperial tax collectors and ruined by fraud. Soldiers were beaten and chained by tax collectors and judges, the humiliation of which was not to be abided by the soldiery.¹⁵⁶ From the perspective of the provincial military aristocracy like Nikephoros II and Tzimiskes, it was the imperial government that was misguided and corrupt – only under the leadership of the warrior elite could the fortunes of the state be truly restored and properly managed.

Though clearly not from outsiders – provincial elites had maintained residences in Constantinople for generations – the view of the *de Velitatione* remains that of the border lord and frontiersman towards the capital, and as such it frames the struggle of the reign of Basil II. The rebellions of the Skleroi and Phokades demonstrate not only that the Anatolian magnates had determined that they were more fit to rule than the Macedonians – insurrection was nothing new. But the scope, scale, devastation, and duration of the wars and the impressions they made on those in power and the provincials clearly demonstrate the depth of resources and sentiment that the provincial elites had built. These structures had to be dismantled, but in doing so, Basil II removed only the top stories while leaving the foundation untouched, for crediting him with the desire to break the provincial aristocracy is to ascribe him a false political agenda.¹⁵⁷ His reaction was typical of all emperors – limited in its force and directed at the main malefactors. That these happened to be the richest families in Anatolia, the Phokades and their Maleinoi allies, left a lasting impression. Far more devastating to the key offenders was the deprivation of military command – a birthright whose loss was humiliating and materially painful. The bargain struck between Phokas and Skleros, in which the latter would rule a state in Syria and eastern Anatolia, is rarely commented upon. But it is the first sign that the provincial aristocracy had begun to imagine a world without the emperor.

Even more crippling to Cappadocians were the cessation of hostilities in the east, and the disastrous policies of Basil II that cut off the material means of elite expansion, depriving them of the precious plunder through which they bound their soldiers and retainers to themselves, gained the experience, and won the glory that made them worthy of high command. In the negotiations between the Buyids and Byzantines, the Arab ambassador Ibn Shahram noted that the Phokades, Leo, and Bardas, strenuously opposed peace, as they knew that ‘the soldiers’ swords would fall into disuse and their wages would be reduced as is the custom at Byzantium when they make peace’.¹⁵⁸ Likewise, Skylitzes

records that Bardas Phokas and his allies, especially Eustathios Maleinos, were angered that they were cut out of the Bulgarian expedition of 986.¹⁵⁹ The rebellion of Leo Tournikios was sparked by idle soldiery who had once more been left out of a campaign. Finally, the plot that was hatched against Michael VI by the cabal of Anatolian magnates was sparked by the emperor's haughty behaviour towards the military elites of the eastern themes. The coup that launched Isaac Komnenos to power was a *who's who* of old Anatolian military luminaries, including representatives of the Skleroi, Argyroi, Bourtzes, and Kekoumenoi clans and others. Conspicuously absent were the Phokades and Maleinoi whom Basil II had long before broken down.¹⁶⁰ The reign of Isaac Komnenos ended in failure, and it would wait for the rise of Romanos IV Diogenes to provide the Cappadocians with their final hand on the reigns of the empire. By the time of the momentous double-cross of one elite clan, the Doukai, against the Cappadocian-backed Diogenes, the eastern Anatolian elites had seen enough of Constantinople and its policies which were now directly opposed to their own local interests.

The utter collapse of the Byzantine frontier and the sack of Caesarea in 1067, in which the church of St Basil was pillaged and burnt, were symbolic of the decline of Cappadocia and its elite families. Gone were the Phokades, their private armies and control over imperial forces, and gone was the centrality of Cappadocia to an empire for which it had served as a frontier bulwark for three centuries. The massive influx of Armenians and Georgians into the land, much of it no doubt on the former estates of the Phokades, probably undermined the morale of local aristocracy and further alienated them from the state. While it made good sense to Basil to implant thousands of outsiders into a fractious region, the policy was short-sighted. To the warlords whose ranks had once benefitted from the conquest of the east to see their neighbours' lands given to foreigners was a sobering reminder that they could not afford to be out of power and see their interests tended to by others. Meanwhile, the granting of entire regions to foreign princes, as Basil did in the grant of Sebasteia to Senekerim Arcruni, who held the position of *strategos* of Cappadocia, long the claim of local families, alienated the powerful, deprived the fisc of massive revenues, and entrusted strategic regions to allies who would later prove utterly unreliable. Thus the devolution and disintegration of Byzantine Anatolia, staunchly by Cappadocia in the seventh century, began there in the eleventh.

Conclusion

This study has aimed to provide alternative views to current scholarly opinion of Byzantine Cappadocia in several areas. We have sought not only to examine Cappadocia in context of the wider empire, but to contribute to the development of regional knowledge of Byzantium and query current views of political and social dynamics in a provincial setting. From Late Antiquity through the end of Byzantine rule, Cappadocia experienced tremendous political and social upheaval that left deep impressions on society. Yet one of the hallmarks of Byzantine Cappadocia was its resilience; partly because of its unique environmental complexion and deep-seated cultural elements, Cappadocia remained distinctive within the empire. The accident of geography and the fractious nature of its local elites contributed greatly to the Cappadocian role in the Byzantine polity while at the same time undermined it.

From the outset we argued that this contribution was greater, especially in institutional terms, than has generally been acknowledged. Because of the nature of the land itself, which nurtured few cities of the traditional Greco-Roman type, the population and their economic underpinnings have rarely been taken seriously. In part this disregard is simply serendipitous but not unique – so little survives from any corner of the Byzantine countryside and our written sources largely ignore or are missing agricultural or other economic components, that the perception of the countryside cannot match that of urban centres. Here it should also be remembered that the majority of Byzantines seemed to look down on Cappadocians, though we should neither push this too far, nor use the snippets that draw attention to the tendency to poke fun at Cappadocians as decisive in terms of their role in the empire, the depth of their perceived differences, or our appreciation of these.

Great though the gaps are, there is sufficient evidence to hypothesise that Cappadocian settlement was both far denser and more varied than the casual observer would suppose. The troglodytic elements of settlement, so difficult to quantify, will eventually be investigated sufficiently to refine or refute the claims that we have made and adjust the numbers that we have suggested. Yet the view that the Byzantine Cappadocian population was largely secular and diverse in pockets – creating a canvas mottled with particular, detectable strains of dominant Hellenic culture infused with ancient Anatolian heritages and accented with a mix of Persian, Armenian, and Arabic colourings – will be of lasting concern. The makeup of Byzantine Cappadocian society will help us further understand not only its own character and internal relationships, but also cast light on its dealings with outsiders, including the Byzantine state.

The presence of the state in late antique Cappadocia was defined by its presence as landholder – the huge tracts of imperial lands and their management stamped the region, influencing settlement patterns, land usage, and the lives of the farmers and herders who lived on them. That the emperor had serious rivals as a landlord is apparent from *Novel 30*, wherein local elites had encroached upon the physical property of the emperor and his household and challenged his moral rights such as by committing crimes or circumventing the law in various ways. The features of this conflict, in which land lay at the centre, underscore two basic facts. The land was valuable, and local elites wanted it. What they hoped to do with it is evidenced from archaeological remains of intensive farming systems of cash crops that included sophisticated water systems and careful management of soil fertility using pigeon waste. This was a landscape that was both highly varied and often productive. Stocking, with the attendant returns of transportation, traction, hides or wool, milk, or meat, was sufficiently profitable that substantial swathes of marginal land also had value. Cappadocian wool output was probably considerable. Indeed, Cappadocian cloth production from wool and flax was not only ideally adapted to its inland setting, by rendering a rather high-value product that could be transported efficiently overland, but also was a major component of the local economy. Even areas that the modern eye perceives to be ‘waste’ or unusable were often given to tree crops, niche-adapted local plants, or grazing. The generally dim views that scholars have taken of the Cappadocian economy do not accord with the reality one sees in the sources and archaeological evidence. If one views these with more than a cursory glance, it is apparent that the variety of plants exploited, the means of environmental management, and the returns gained from herding

allowed for substantial surpluses and that the values of these surpluses for the elites who controlled them were high. Allowing, in turn, for this generation of surplus wealth to outstrip our prior expectations sheds considerable light on the mobilisation of wealth, its control, and its use in Cappadocia and the empire.

The potential wealth and importance of Cappadocia within Byzantium is further underscored by our exploration of horse culture and production and their value locally and empire-wide. It is difficult to underestimate the importance that equids held in transportation and warfare, but their role in Byzantine society and economy as a whole has been virtually ignored. The quantified sketch in Part I provides one view of the possible role of horses and other equids in economic terms and offers notions of scale, allowing us to further relate these activities to the land and therefore deepen our understanding of the range, intensity, and costs of animal husbandry in this portion of the Anatolian highlands. In addition, the extent of the benefits both to the state and to the region's inhabitants was considerable, with attendant social considerations that have hitherto been overlooked. The ubiquity of equids shaped many areas of Cappadocian society; their numbers not only meant greater physical mobility for a wide range of people, but also portable wealth on a massive scale. Such numbers also underscore the strategic value of the region to an army that relied on cavalry.

The exploitation of the landscape did not end with crops and animals, and the anecdotal evidence culled from the sources indicates that a substantial array of mineral resources was exploited. At present it is impossible to state with certainty that all of these continued to be worked throughout the Byzantine era, but, as we have seen, archaeological evidence from Late Antiquity and the Middle Period indicate that Cappadocia produced iron, silver, lead, copper, and various allied minerals even during the Dark Ages. In fact, the persistence of mining activity along the borderlands accentuates the value that this contested region had for the Cappadocians, though it is less clear how the resource-hungry Byzantine state, whose access to supplies of metals and cash dwindled, viewed the area. Undoubtedly, mines were targets both of Byzantine defensive works and Arab attack, and the determination and success of the former in holding them seems borne out by the limited material evidence. Likewise, the textual and archaeological evidence for mines and their metallic wealth illuminates how certain elite families obtained or maintained their economic and social standing, since the control of mines fell increasingly into private hands at the end of antiquity. We have argued that families, particularly the Argyroi,

recognised the value of these mines and exploited them to their benefit throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Period, as did their predecessors and successors. The economic elements described throughout this work indicate a Cappadocia that was not only more populous, but more prosperous and interwoven within the fabric of Byzantine state and society than has hitherto been recognised. If Cappadocia were wealthier than previously supposed, then the material realities reinforce both the power and influence of the Cappadocian elite as well as underscore that the area as a whole was vital to the state.

Part II, which began with an investigation of elements of religious life, reveals something of the sacred landscape and the varieties of religious expression articulated by late antique and medieval Cappadocians. Christianity arrived early on the scene in the region and apparently received a warm reception. Yet the data suggest that Cappadocia was not dominated by communities of monks or other religious groupings, and the legislation of the emperors aiming for the high and futile ideal of religious uniformity help to underscore in many senses the conventionality of many forms of Cappadocian religious life. Monasticism evolved primarily from cenobitic models, and these in turn had both Egyptian and Syrian influences. When confronted with radical forms of monastic praxis, such as Eustathian extreme asceticism, the Cappadocians tended to steer towards a more pragmatic middle course. The scant evidence of Cappadocian stylite saints, for example, demonstrates not only accidents of survival and the vagaries of climate in societal development, but also seems to reveal a general weakness in solitary monastic pursuits and underscores the role of patronage and pilgrimage in the performance of the monastic life.

Although it has long been held that many of the rock-cut complexes of Cappadocia are monasteries, scholars have recently challenged this view. In light of the criteria established in Chapter 5, we determine that few sites maintain solid proof in the form of rock-cut refectory tables in their existing structures to allow for identification as monasteries. Cappadocian monasticism of the Middle Period especially developed a strong private strain, with the survival of individual houses heavily dependent on elite patronage. In this, once more, the region seems to have fitted into the general pattern of medieval Byzantine experience. Private monastic foundations, like that at Geyikli and the Church of Pic 1223 support the view that the commemoration of local elite patrons was the lifeblood of many Cappadocian monasteries. In other cases, as in the famous agglomeration of rock-cut monasteries in Göreme Valley, pilgrimage played a vital role in the establishment and maintenance of

the monastic way of life. Without the key pillars of either elite patronage or pilgrimage, the fate of late antique and medieval Cappadocian religious houses was precarious at best. And it seems that the monastic landscape was generally far less prominent in any era than is usually supposed and perhaps more dynamic, constantly changing in scope and scale as foundations vanished and others appeared.

As with most other provincial regions of the empire, Cappadocia adopted the norms and habits of Christian expression from outside its borders – in the early period Syria was especially influential, while trends in the capital and elsewhere can be detected later. Cappadocia briefly took a commanding role in theological matters during the fourth century, when the Cappadocian Fathers of Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzos, and Gregory of Nyssa rose to prominence, primarily as advocates of Nicene Christianity. With rare exceptions, such as the sixth-century bishop Andrew, the higher clergy was apparently unremarkable and remains largely invisible into and through the Middle Period, which may indicate a general weakness in the secular church in the region. The seventh-century decline of the few existing urban centres probably played a significant role in the waning of ecclesiastical authority in Anatolia generally. This lack of urbanisation, to which we have often alluded, apparently rendered a greater and longer-lasting role to the country bishops of Cappadocia than they generally enjoyed elsewhere. Sigillographic evidence indicates that the church responded to the political realities of the state, reflecting the expansion of Byzantine territory during the conquest era of the ninth and tenth centuries. This state revival, however, did not lead to a new prominence of the higher clergy, either in the rural or urban environment.

Built church remains reveal that the region was rather mainstream in its architectural expression. Late antique churches show Syrian influence, with local flourishes, but otherwise little variation from a shared imperial culture. Rock-cut churches also largely mimic, rather than innovate, both in their morphology and their decoration, and they once more indicate that there is more to commend the Byzantine element in Cappadocia than vice versa.¹ The well-known medieval example of provincial church architecture, Çanlı Kilise, epitomises provincial Cappadocian adoption of Constantinopolitan fashion in building: mimicking the contemporary style with some added local Anatolian seasoning and built to a lower standard. Beyond these public churches intended for communal worship that closely paralleled their companions across the empire, Cappadocians eagerly founded private churches. Numerous rock-cut churches belonging to the secular elite in Cappadocia attest not only the aristocratic love

of display and discourse with those of their class, but betray a sometimes inward-looking, contractual, and rather formalised Christianity. These spaces served not only to intensify family identity through memory and ritual, but to reinforce the social prestige of each group within the broader community of wealthy and powerful Cappadocians. In addition, such spaces dignified their donors in the eyes of their dependents. Finally, these chapels and churches certainly held personal value, as conduits for donations that exhibited one's faith and good deeds that were expected to be rewarded in the hereafter. The spread of the reputation of medieval Cappadocian saints and holy people apparently depended predominantly not on their religious clout but rather on the political power of locals, and this, too, attests the essentially material nature of the church and its followers among the elites of the region. However, popular piety remained strong, and Cappadocian saints and holy figures did anchor a little-known and largely opaque pilgrimage that persisted even beyond the Turkish conquest of the land.

By Late Antiquity, Cappadocian society, especially elite society, reflected centuries of Anatolian, Persian, Greek, and Roman customs and ideas. In a world where family and blood ties were critical for the perpetuation of the traditional order, higher-class Anatolians generally and Cappadocians especially enjoyed a reputation of 'nobility' anchored on one's bloodlines as well as the critical corollaries of wealth and social respectability. There is little evidence of sex and gender in Late Antique or medieval Cappadocia, and nothing to allow us to depart from the supposition that the role of women was restricted to subaltern status as it was everywhere in the contemporary Mediterranean. We are woefully uninformed about sex and gender relations, and the ways in which women fitted into (or subverted) male-dominated society of Late Antique and Byzantine Cappadocia. Scattered glimpses that we capture in the sources permit us merely to confirm that women laboured in obscurity in employment like spinning wool and farming and domestic toil. Those who made an impact through their exercise of patronage in religious spaces, like St Makrina, were rare.

One can see the performance of aristocratic life articulated in the remains of sumptuous rock-cut complexes that comprise elite centres. These complexes express local traditions of design and social interaction – probably derived ultimately from elite models of subterranean houses as well as built, villa-type dwellings with which they shared the landscape. A distinctive Cappadocian aesthetic and organisation of space based on power relations and consumption is seen by the sixth century in the enclosed-square courtyard plan of Saray-Belha

Kilise. A half-millennium later the dwellings of the upper classes remained recognisable in their similar conceptualisations of space and elements of design. Their carved decorations, often elaborate facades, carefully arranged entrances, chapels, and well-planned organisation of domestic space is exemplified at their peak in the Saray at Erdemli (eleventh century). This elaborate structure portrays a confident, monumental facade, a hybridity of Roman and Islamic decoration that demonstrates an upper class willing to appropriate decorative design and motifs from an enemy whom they admired. Furthermore, this facade was a masterful composition not only accommodating the constraints of the terrain but also innovating accordingly *vis-à-vis* the parapet-walkway leading to the upper window-door. The application of these elements within a rock-cut complex of local plan, adapted to the goals and needs of estate management and the projection of power, is uniquely Cappadocian and, we argue, portrays assured, dynamic aristocrats with deep-rooted regional identities.

It was this elite that dominated society during Late Antiquity at the expense of state influence. The legislation of Justinian depicts a violent, lawless land that needed extraordinary measures to be brought to heel. That he and his successors were unsuccessful seems likely, given their repeated attempts and the decline of the prominence of imperial lands throughout the region. Though they never disappeared entirely, the loss of imperial holdings further eroded the influence that Constantinople had in Cappadocia from the seventh century onward. The turbulence of the Dark Ages offered peril to some elite families, who no doubt were displaced. Others, though, survived and were reinforced with newcomers who sought lands and opportunities on the frontier. The rise of the marcher-lord families of the Phokades, Skleroi, Maleinoi, and others paralleled the period of Byzantine resurgence in the east. Eventually they contested control of the army, which they saw as the best lever with which to pry open the doors to the imperial palace, and succeeded for some time. Their discomfiture under Basil II permitted the subsequent ascent of other provincial elites who replaced them.

Many of the themes that underpinned our story remained vital elements to the region well past Byzantine dominion. Deep cultural ties to the past, a distinctive local identity, active elite, persistent settlement, and the endurance of old religious, industrial, and agricultural practices continued for centuries. The debacle that was the Battle of Mantzikert (1071), whereat the Cappadocian emperor Romanos IV Diogenes was betrayed by one of his own generals – in a Constantinopolitan-borne plot of rival elites – heralded the rapid loss of Byzantine Cappadocia to

Turkish hegemony.² Military disaster, perhaps intensified by Cappadocian disaffection from Constantinople at the dishonourable and brutal treatment of the defeated Romanos, led to a Cappadocia far removed from Byzantium. Yet the region reveals intermittent glimpses of its Byzantine heritage. As we have mentioned, Lady Thamar and her husband, the *amirarzes* Basil Giag(oupes?), founded the Church of St George in Belisırama in the last quarter of the thirteenth century; the cult of St Mamas reappeared in 1881; churches were still used into the early twentieth century; agricultural and industrial practices remained essentially the same until they were displaced by industrial and technological developments; pilgrimage continued, sometimes in syncretic forms; people still inhabit rock-cut sites such as Ortahisar; and the annual wine festival at Soğanlı Dere, which probably harkens back at least a millennium, is still celebrated. The resiliency and continuance of Cappadocia allows us to hope that our examination of the data in their present forms, however problematic and limited, will spark scholarly debate and encourage further research in the history and archaeology of this fascinating and important region.

Notes

Introduction

1. Rowland 2001.
2. 'Elite' is obviously a laden term that describes a varied group (or groups) of considerable complexity. For some definitions and discussion, see: Haldon 2004; Neville 2004.
3. Cormack 1998; Morris 1976; Patlagean 1977; Whittow 1996: 335–90; *EHB* 3: 1005 ff.
4. Hayes 1992.
5. Hayes 1992; Spieser 1991: 249.
6. Armstrong 2006; Vroom 2005a; 2005b; 2007.
7. Tyana: Berges and Nollé 2000; Melitene: Delaporte 1940; Equini Schneider 1970; Pecorella 1975; Puglisi and Meriggi 1964; Topakli: Polacco 1969; 1970; 1971a; 1971b; 1972–3; 1973; 1975.
8. Ousterhout 2005; Rosada and Lachin 2009.
9. Baird 1999; 2000; 2002; Matthews 1999; 2000; Mitchell 1974; 1993.
10. Hild and Restle 1981.
11. Perhaps contrary to expectation, the massive architectural survey of eastern Turkey conducted by Sinclair glosses over Byzantine Cappadocia, providing almost nothing for our topic: Sinclair 1987: 95.
12. D'Alfonso 2008; 2010; D'Alfonso and Mora 2008; 2007.
13. See first: Bixio, Castellani and Succhiarelli 2002.
14. Akhisar/Çanlı Kilise: Ousterhout 2005; 1985; 1995a; 1995b; 1996; 1997a; 1997b; 1997d; 1998a; 1998b; 1999a; Aksaray-Niğde area: Equini Schneider 1992–3; 1996; Peristrema Valley: Kalas 2006; 2007; 2009a.
15. Works on dating seals are scarce, see: Oikonomides 1987.
16. Alekséenko 1996: 271; Bull 1977: 68; Doimi de Frankopan 1997; Dunn 1983; Harrison et al. 1986: 276; Jordanov 1993; Koltside-Makre 1990; Morrisson and Seibt 1982; Nesbitt 1990, *passim*; 1999; Oikonomides 1983: 149; Sokolova 1993.
17. Koloneia: Cheynet, Morrisson, and Seibt 1991b no. 294; Charsianon: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.40.6–7.
18. Major sites with seal finds: Preslav with ca 800 Doimi de Frankopan 2001; Jordanov 1993; Crete with 31 Tsougarakis 1990; Aprhrodisias with 24 Nesbitt 1983. Sites with less than 20 seals: Pergamon Oikonomides 1987: 101 and note; the Dobruja: Barnea 1987; Novidium: Oikonomides 1990b. Corinth also revealed several seals, but many require further analysis: Davidson 1952: index. See also the discussion in Cheynet and Morrisson 1990, which considers the nature of provincial versus Constantinopolitan archives as well as seal distributions.

1 'A Vast and Admirable Land'

1. *Corpus Iuris Civilis* III.
2. Basil, *Ep.* 345.

3. On early urban history see Jones 1971: 177 f.
4. Weiskopf 1990.
5. Hild and Restle 1981.
6. Hild and Restle 1981: 193–6.
7. Jones 1971: 182.
8. For a comprehensive history of the city, see Vest 2007; there are scant Byzantine archaeological remains that were uncovered during Italian excavations: Pecorella 1975.
9. Watson 1999: 71–3.
10. *Nov.* 32.
11. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Carm.* II.1.11.439–45. Quoted in both Jones 1971: 187 and Van Dam 2003a: 18.
12. Jones 1971: 188.
13. Derinkuyu: Demir 2000: 59.
14. Gelveri and Tatların: Demir 2000: 62.
15. On the Persian Wars see: Greatrex and Lieu 2002; Howard-Johnston 1999; Kaegi 2003; on the decline of Anatolian cities: Foss 1977.
16. *Nov.* 30, April, 536. Literature on the theme system and its origins is vast. See the convenient summarising discussion in *CHBE*: 29, 62, 236–41, 266–9. See also Vlysidou 1998.
17. Armeniakon theme: Kaegi 1968.
18. Vlysidou 1998: 89.
19. Hild and Restle 1981: 216 f.
20. Nyssa: Hild and Restle 1981: 247; Charsianon: *DAI* 50.
21. Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1981; Honigmann 1935a. Charsianon *Kastron* possibly is to be identified with Akdağmadeni, approximately 107 km NNE of Kayseri – see Potache 1981.
22. Yaqut, *Mu'jam* 4.421
23. Khalifa B. Khayyat, *Ta'rikh* 181, 264.
24. Honigmann 1935b; Vasiliev 1935–68.
25. Hild and Restle 1981: 258.
26. D'Alfonso 2010: 32.
27. Hild and Restle 1981: 216 f.
28. Berges and Nollé 2000: 517 ff., cat. 257; *ODB* 3: 2130. For an overview of survey evidence of medieval frontier settlement see Decker 2007b. Rosada and Lachin 2010: 120.
29. For example: Berger 1998: 390 f., pl. 53.2, 54.1–2; 1997: 225; c.f. his earlier reports 1995; 1996.
30. Agapios *Kitab al-'uyun* 312; Hild 1977: 188–9.
31. Dalleggio 1956: 172 ff.
32. Ibn Shaddad, 1984: 111 f.; Treadgold 1997: 362; Whittow 1996: 160. See also Le Strange 1890: 499. For Kaludia (Arabic *Qalaudiya* or *Qalūḍiyya*) see Yaqut, *Mu'jam* 4: 392.
33. Several fortifications dot the Byzantine roadway from Podandos to Koloneia, most too degraded to attribute to any particular time period. The three *kastra* mentioned in the environs of Balcı, Gedelli and Koçak preserve evidence of spoliated construction in the extant remains, and thus are attributed to *ca* the seventh to ninth centuries, though whether they were established or significantly refurbished at that time is an open question. Fortification remains

- were seen in 2000 on several elevated sites that could oversee the main road heading east from Kayseri (Caesarea).
34. Koloneia: *De Cerim.* 444 f.; Hild et al. 1981: 207; Sebasteia: *De Cerim.* 445, 652, 655 f., 697; Lykandos: *DAI* 50; Baethgen 1884: 34; Hild and Restle 1981: 224–5; Oikonomides 1972: 247, 265.
 35. Eustathios of Thessaloniki, *Commentarii* 342 – the old Hexapolis comprised Melitene, Arka, Arabissos, Kukusos, Komana and Ariaratheia. All save the first remained under Byzantine control in the seventh century. A seal of a *kommerkia hexapoleos* is known from the reign of Leo III Zacos and Veglery 1972: no. 260.
 36. *DAI* 50.
 37. Kedrenos, *Synop.* 2: 250. Unfortunately there is no way of knowing if the Iron quarter (*sideros*) refers simply to the district of blacksmiths or if it implies an armoury or other industrial area.
 38. Attaliates, *Hist.* 92.4, 128.22–3; Oikonomides 1972: 360.
 39. Hierokles, *Synekdemos* 33; Braunlin and Nesbitt 1999: no. 11.
 40. Harper 1970; Hild 1977: 54 ff.
 41. Laurent 1952: no. 212; Sinclair 1987: 17; Vest 2007: 1078 f.; Wessel and Restle 1972: col.1061 f.
 42. Karagiorgou 2001: Appendix 8: 2.
 43. De Jerphanion 1928: 76–91.
 44. Gabriel 1931: 138–41; Hild and Restle 1981.
 45. Simēon and Bournoutian 2007.
 46. Ballance 1996a; 1996b; Gabriel 1931. We thank Dr Ballance for his unpublished extended report of Kayseri.
 47. Simēon and Bournoutian 2007: 273.
 48. Bernardakis 1908; De Jerphanion 1928: 103–6.
 49. Hild and Restle 1981: 221.
 50. Lykandos: Hild and Restle 1981: 225; Symposium: Wessel and Restle 1972: col.1064; Tzamandos: Hild and Restle 1981: 301.
 51. See the remarks in Ahrweiler 1967; Tivcev 1962: 146–57 *passim*; Vryonis 1975: 26–9. There are hundreds of villages like Ovaören throughout the region that may be similarly hiding Byzantine foundations, and the redoubt may be a particularly useful tool in prioritising sites for study.
 52. Demir 2000: 68; Elford 1992: 41 f.
 53. Aksit 2000: 22, and personal prospection, 2001.
 54. Literature on redoubts is virtually non-existent. See Castellani 1995b as the first work to formally classify the redoubt typology and references below.
 55. Castellani 1995b: 45, 51.
 56. Castellani 1995b: 43.
 57. Castellani 1995b: 43; Cuneo 1971: 102.
 58. Castellani 1995b: 45; Castellani and Pani 1995: 53.
 59. *Contra* Aksit 2000: 82. Little is known about the history of this site, Hild and Restle 1981: 281 f. C.f. Bixio 1993: 46, 54 f.; Triolet and Triolet 1993: 53–78.
 60. Bixio Castellani and Succhiarelli 2002: 73, 201; Triolet and Triolet 1993: 41–6.
 61. Castellani and Pani 1995: 56 f.

62. *Contra* Bixio, Castellani and Succhiarelli 2002: 228; Castellani and Pani 1995: 56.
63. To wit, some examples of whitewash or plaster can be found at Soğanlı Dere, Eneğüp, and Derinkuyu.
64. So too could the porous stone in certain areas.
65. On nightsoiling, see *Geop.* 2.21.
66. Ramsay 1884: 27, 303, 576, 581.
67. Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* 35.
68. Al-Tabari, *Tarikh* 11: 1236; Ibn Khayyat, *Tarikh*, 118.
69. Mas'udi, *Tanbih* 151.
70. Hild and Restle 1981: 227; Ibn Hauqal, *Kitab surat al-ard*, 194 f.; Nikephoros Phokas, *Skirmishing* : 229; Bury 1909: 121.
71. Coindoz 1987: 12–18.
72. Shahid 1995: *passim*.
73. See EI² s.v. 'Abū Ubayda Ibn al-Jarrāḥ'; Christian Arab tribes in Byzantine service: Al-Baladhuri, ed. de Goeje, p. 164, tr. Hitti, p. 254.
74. On the allied Arabs serving in Syria, see Eutychios, *Annales* 2.14. Herakleios allegedly turned over some of the tribe of Iyad to 'Umar: see EI² s.v. 'Iyad'.
75. Al-Tabari, 11: 695; Brooks 1900: 230; Bar Hebraeus, *Chron.* 121.
76. Istakhri, *Kitab masalik al-mamalik*, 45.
77. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* ed. Chabot, III.2; Ghevond, *Hist.* ed. Chahnazarian: 150.
78. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 74. On the Khurramites, see EI²s.v. 'Kḥurramiyya'
79. Treadgold 1997: 483.
80. Treadgold 1995: 34.
81. Dagron 1976: 187 ff.
82. Brosset 1874–6: 1.248; Charanis 1961: 147; Dedeyan 1981; Skylitzes, *Synop.* 354–5.
83. Simēon and Bournoutian 2007: 169. By the eighteenth century, however, Armenians occupied 2000 of the 10,000 houses in the city, and according to the Ottoman census of 1914, their numbers had climbed to 147,000.
84. Kalas 1998: 83.
85. Vryonis 1971: 69.
86. Ousterhout 1995a; 1997a; 1997d.
87. See the remarks in Bertucci Bixio and Traverso 1995, p. 123.
88. For example, numerous churches are commonly ascribed to Güllü Dere or Kızıl Çukur (and sometimes both), but in fact many of these (usually anonymous) appear associated with outlying sites. To start, see the discussion of both sites in Hild and Restle 1981; Jolivet-Lévy 1991; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1965; Rodley 1985; Thierry and Thierry 1958.
89. We posit one settlement per 2.5 km² in total, based on one settlement per 1.96 km² near major roads and footpaths, and between one settlement per 2.25 km² and one per 3.33 km² in more remote areas; 60–120-person average is based on single dwelling units holding families of six people. Hild 1977, see especially maps 2–14; Hild 1981; Hild and Restle 1981 lists a great many of these sites. Although not as comprehensive in terms of Byzantine settlements, it is more informative on the sites that it does list. See also Bertucci, Bixio, and Traverso 1995.

90. A combined approach using data from maps, census data, and US military atlases, along with the information provided by Inalcık, produced nearly 500 locations within the region, lying outside of Rocky Cappadocia, that have not been included in this discussion. Sources used: Bugett, Rockmore, and Quinting 1984a; Bugett, Rockmore, and Quinting 1984b; Inalcık and Quataert 1994: 162 ff.; Komutanligi and Reise 1990; Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2001; Reschenhofer 1981. Settlement continuity: Castellani and Pani 1995, p. 53 ff.; Cuneo 1971, esp. p. 86; Mellaart 197–80; Novembre 1981, *passim*; Planhol 1969, p. 255; Teteriatnikov 1997: 25–9 and references; Thierry 1981b, especially 39–52. On Ottoman place names, see: Inalcık and Quataert 1994: 162 ff.
91. Data for the Ottoman population provided by Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2001.
92. Data for the 1922 census provided by Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2001. NB it is unclear if this census occurred before or after the transfer in 1922 of the local Greek inhabitants.
93. Data for 1995 obtained by querying the databases at Center for International Earth Science Information Network (CIESIN).
94. Mango 1994a: 71–3.
95. John of Ephesus, *HE* VI.8.
96. Sebeos, sec. 113, p. 66.
97. *Contra* Harvey 1989: 198 f., whose belief that 8251 registered taxpayers for sixteenth-century Ottoman Kayseri represent an increased population of the city, and thus a superior population throughout the region, over Byzantine times is contentious. As discussed below, Caesarea was provisioned in the tenth century with a substantial *qanat* system, which was the main water supply until 1955. This suggests that the city increased its population substantially in the tenth century. As 8251 registered tax payers may equate to a total city population of *ca* 30,000–40,000, sixteenth-century Kayseri does not appear necessarily more populous than it was in the tenth century. See also remarks in Ousterhout 1999a: 75.

2 The Increase of the Earth

1. Asterios of Amaseia, *On Covetousness* 3.7: 31–2; trans. based on Anderson and Goodspeed, 1904: 90–1.
2. Bryer 1979: 394. On Byzantine agricultural change see Decker 2009a.
3. Kaplan 1976: *passim*; Monks 1957: 749n6.
4. *Notitia Dignatatum*, 30.
5. Strabo, *Geog.* 12.2.3–6.
6. Strabo, *Geog.* 12.2.3.
7. Jones 1971: 527f.
8. Sozomen, *HE*, 192.1
9. Jones 1971: 507. CJ 1.3.35
10. Teja 1974.
11. Decker 2009b: 73.
12. Rydén 1986.
13. Fourmy and Leroy 1934; Legacy: Auzépy 1993; Nesbitt 1969.

14. *EHB*: 818: $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ *nomisma* per *modios*; price of ewe = 0.5–0.66 *nomisma* = *EHB*: 839; sheep = 1/6.
15. Honigsmann 1936: 268–9. It is doubtful that the 115 km length of the territory was contiguously owned by the Maleinoi, rather, in keeping with the strategic scattering of parcels widely practiced by Roman elites since antiquity.
16. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 340.88 f.
17. Hendy 1985: 203–6.
18. Harvey 1989: 38; Hendy 1985: 211.
19. Bowman 1985.
20. Decker 2009b: 66 ff.
21. *Novel* 30.4 and 9.1; *coloni*: 30.3.1
22. Haldon 1993.
23. Decker 2009b.
24. Van Dam 2002: 15. This is true of nearly all pre-industrial economies, especially when filtered through the lens of modernity. Van Dam further notes that in its poverty, Cappadocia resembled ‘many other regions in the Roman empire’. The majority everywhere existed at the level of subsistence, but this is not an adequate indicator of relative poverty. Rather, we need to consider the generation of wealth, or lack thereof, in aggregate.
25. Hendy 1985: 40.
26. Bryer 1979.
27. Decker 2007a.
28. Decker 2009b: 218–21.
29. *PG* 31.269
30. Smith 2007: 174–5.
31. Samuel 1986: 92.
32. Oribasios, *Coll. Med.* 1.2.3
33. Oribasios, *Coll. Med.* 1.1.15
34. Basil, *Hexaameron* V.3.31
35. Van Dam 2002.
36. McGovern, Fleming, and Katz 1995: 155.
37. Basil, *Hexaameron* V.6
38. Strabo, *Geog.* 12.2.
39. For pine plantations: Palladius, *Op. Ag.* 156.16; *Geop.* XI.9
40. Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 26, 27; see Goggin 1947: 32.
41. *Expositio* §XIX.30, 40; Strabo, *Geog.* 3.5.10
42. Ertuğ 2000b *passim*.
43. Winfield 1968: 123.
44. As noted below, Chapter 3, Gregory of Nazianzos states that wealthy Cappadocians prized their linen clothing.
45. Nesbitt 1977: 115 n. 20; Oikonomides 1986: 36.
46. Ertuğ 2000b *passim*.
47. Decker 2009b.
48. Galen, *De simplicium*, 12.82.15.
49. Galen, *De simplicium* 12.64.10.
50. Galen, *De simplicium* 12.106.10.
51. Ertuğ 2000a.
52. Ferguson 1980.

53. Leemans et al. 2003.
54. Basil, *Ep.* 365
55. Leuci 1995: 100.
56. For the design and function of the hydrogeologic system, see Blanchard 1981: 375–82; Castellani 1993: *passim*; 1995a: *passim*.
57. Castellani 1993: 210.
58. Personal prospection, 2001.
59. Personal communication from the director of the Soğanlı Dere tourist office, 2001.
60. English 1998: 188; other works consulted: Al-Karagi 1973; Beaumont 1989; Beaumont et al. 1989; Bolens 1984; Cressey 1958; English 1968; Iwao 1989; Lambton 1989; Lightfoot 1997.
61. Dr Michael Ballance, personal communication, May 1999.
62. This *qanat* has not been explored fully; its terminus is unknown.
63. Furon 1967: 84 f.; Goblot 1979: 126 f.; Dr Michael Ballance, personal communication, May 1999.
64. Falling Rain Genomics 2001, and associated link; Furon 1967: 84 f.; Goblot 1979: 126 f.
65. Ramsay 1907: 322–5, and reference; Sterrett 1884–5: 123, 133, 161–2, 180.
66. Hild and Restle 1981: 48–51.
67. Bixio, Castellani and Succhiarelli 2002: 190.
68. Bixio, Castellani and Succhiarelli 2002: 189.
69. Mayerson 1960; see also Avni 1996; Cobb 1999; Evenari, Shanan, and Tadmor 1963; Haiman 1995; Hillel 1982; Kloner 1973; 1975; Mayerson 1963; 1994; Rubin 1988.
70. *Geop.* 14.1.1; 14.6
71. White 1970: 126 f. *Geop.* 2.21
72. Demenge 1995: 46.
73. That is, anything susceptible to frost could have been unviable for much of the region.
74. England et al. 2008: 1234, 1241 f.
75. Willcox 1974: 129–30.
76. Eastwood et al. 2009; Haldon 2007b.
77. For a discussion, see Whittow 2009.
78. El Cheikh 2004: 92–3. Text and French translation: Eid 1993.
79. These professions are all described in general terms in: Fox 1939; Goggin 1947; Teja 1974.
80. Babylonian hides are mentioned elsewhere, and while they sometimes seem to have been imported, they seem to have been produced in various places around the empire: (imported): *Digest* 39.4.16.7; see Sperber 1976: 139.
81. *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, 268–70.
82. *Or.* 43.57.3.
83. Teja 1974: 97.
84. James 1988.
85. Palladius, *Op. Ag.* 245.11, 263.16; Paul of Aegina 7.3.22; Paul of Nicaea §71.27.
86. Maden Tetkik ve Arama Enstitüsü Yayınlarından (MTA) 1972: 91; Ananias of Shirak, *Geog.* 1–25, 294, 322 f.

87. Bryer 1982: 146–9; Maden Tetkik ve Arama Enstitüsü Yayınlarından (MTA) 1972: 92 f.
88. Cramer 1832: 111 f.; Epstein 1986: 55.
89. Spongiform stone from Argaios: Galen, *De simplicium* 12:206.3.
90. Dioskorides, *Mat. Med.* 37.2.
91. *Ep.* 110.1.
92. Muhly et al. 1985: 74, and fig.1. For Byzantine mining generally see Matschke 2002.
93. Hild 1977: 109, 122; Hild and Restle 1981: 64, 138; Pitarakis 1998: 167. and personal prospection, 2001.
94. Pitarakis 1998: 167.
95. Hild and Restle 1981: 64, 102, 135, 158; Pitarakis 1998: 165; Reschenhofer 1981; Tivcev 1962: 164.
96. Paulicians: Lemerle 1973; Silver content of coins: Gordus and Metcalf 1970.
97. Hild and Restle 1981: 184.
98. Maden Tetkik ve Arama Enstitüsü Yayınlarından (MTA) 1972: 92 f.
99. Pitarakis 1998: 175.
100. Broughton 1938: 826; Jones 1971: 179 f.; 1986: 834 ff. and below for location of seventh-century mints. Basil, *Ep.* 110.
101. Cantarella 1926: 31; Haldon 2001b: 292, n.204.
102. Pitarakis 1998: 168; Yener *et al.* 1992: 157.
103. Maden Tetkik ve Arama Enstitüsü Yayınlarından (MTA) 1972: 91 f.
104. Hamilton 1842: 353.
105. Hild and Restle 1981: 127.
106. For example, from Maden Köy mentioned below; Pitarakis 1998: 1702.
107. Yener 1986: 470 ff.; 1999; Yener and Toydemir 1992: 157. See also Vryonis 1962: 8 ff.
108. Yener and Toydemir 1992: 157; see also Yener et al. 1989.
109. Pitarakis 1998: 170–4, 181; Yener and Toydemir 1992: 157, 161.
110. Pitarakis 1998: 170 f. and refs.
111. De Jesus 1978: map 1 and p.98; Hild and Restle 1981: 64, 266 f.; Maden Tetkik ve Arama Enstitüsü Yayınlarından (MTA) 1972: 91 f.; Reschenhofer 1981.
112. Hild 1977: 109, 122, 182; Muhly et al. 1985: 74, and fig.1; Pitarakis 1998: 150, 168 f; Reschenhofer 1981; personal prospection, 1998.
113. Mango 1994c.
114. Mango 1994c: 226. and Dr M. Mango personal communication, 2000. *Contra* Muhly 1993: 251 ff., tin extraction in Anatolia predating the modern era was conducted, Yener and Vandiver 1993a: 256 and n. 15; 1993b.
115. Oddy and La niece 1986; Patterson 1972.
116. Mango 2001b: 93.
117. Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 4:287; Hild and Restle 1981: 185–6.
118. These seals were originally at Friedman's Antiques in San Francisco, California and subsequently bought (after 2002) by an unknown individual. Attempts at further information and permission to study them have been met by silence. We thank Dr Nesbitt for his thoughts on the apparent rarity and legitimacy of these seals and our interpretation of the less-than-optimal condition of the inscriptions and their dates. Any errors, of course, remain ours.
119. Kaplan 1991: 341 ff., 348, 351 ff.; Mango 1992: 214 f.; 1994b: 120; Oikonomides 1972: 312. c.f. Dodd 1992; Nesbitt 1992.

3 Land of Beautiful Horses

1. *PG* 37.1576.
2. Strabo *Geog.* 11.13.8; Coindoz 1987: 14; Hyland 1990: 11, 213; 1993: 9–13, *passim*; 1994: 28; Sagdiç 1987: Introduction.
3. *in Divites* 2.29 f.
4. PS-Oppian *Kynegetika*, 25–7 adapted.
5. Taktika, 69.1 = de Foucault, 1973: 306–7.
6. *Hippiatrica*, 1: 373.
7. Hendricks 1996: 244–5.
8. *Historia Augusta* (Loeb) 2: 386–7.
9. Bordeaux Pilgrim, 577.6; Hild and Restle 1981: 140–1.
10. Hesychios: *FHG* 4: 145.
11. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Or.* 43: 15.4.
12. *Hexaemeron* IV.1.15–16.
13. Maurice, *Strategikon*, II, III, IX, XI.4. Nikephoros Phokas, *Praecepta militaria* = McGeer: 181–8, 211–17, 226–9.
14. Wood 1959. For the portrayal of military martyrs in Cappadocia, see also Parani 1999: 107; 2003: 153 f.
15. Much has been written on this church; to start: De Jerphanion 1925: 520–50; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 15–22; Panayotidi 1989: 312 ff.; Rodley 1982: 301–39; Thierry 1985: 477–84; Thierry 1994: 43–57.
16. Auzépy 2009: 268.
17. Winter care: <http://www.ianrpubs.unl.edu/epublic/pages/publicationD.jsp?publicationId=1042>
18. [http://www.ianrpubs.unl.edu/epublic/pages/publicationD.jsp? publication Id=1042](http://www.ianrpubs.unl.edu/epublic/pages/publicationD.jsp?publicationId=1042)
19. Haldon 1999: 168; Hall 1995; Scottish Agricultural College 2001; see Hyland 1990: 87–94 for important land and feed considerations.
20. Decker 2009b: 82.
21. Arbuckle 2009: 196.
22. Foss 1990: 161–4.
23. Foss 1990: 167.
24. Hendy 1985: 55.
25. Haldon 1999: 112, 197–200, 220–3; 2001a: 69, 96; Hodgson 1974: 59; Howard-Johnston 1971; McGeer 1995b: 211–17; Whittow 1996: 165–75.
26. Haldon 1999: 142; Treadgold 1995: 71 f., 176 f.; Whittow 1996: 173 ff.
27. Haldon 1999: 103, 110, 197–200; Treadgold 1995: 67 (Table 2), 110; Whittow 1996: 184.
28. Haldon 1999: 289 f.; c.f. Hyland 1994: 36. NB all calculations for equids needed for the military herein are based on Haldon 1999: 281–92 and a 24-day mobilisation.
29. Haldon 1999: 103; Treadgold 1995: 81 ff.
30. Whittow 1996: 310–57, *passim*.
31. Haldon 1999: 163.
32. Haldon 1999: 122–5; Whittow 1996: 172 f.
33. Nikephoros Phokas, *Praecepta* §2.1.
34. Nikephoros Phokas, *Praecepta* §1.1.
35. Haldon 1999: 169.

36. Haldon 1999: 141 f.
37. On tenth-century Byzantine siegecraft, see Sullivan 1997. PS-Heron, *Parangelmata Poliorcetica* and *Geodesia*, *passim*.
38. *Doukatores*: Anonymous Taktikon, 252; *kataskopes* and *trapezitai*: Nikephoros Phokas, *Skirmishing* §2.
39. Nikephoros Phokas, *Skirmishing* §2.1–17; 14.
40. Decker 2009b: 218–21.
41. Hyland 1990: 250–62 and *passim*; 1994: 37 f.; 1999: 120.
42. Hild and Restle 1981: *passim*.
43. Haldon 1999: 142.
44. Fox 1939: 131.
45. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *Three Treatises*, 99, 184; Haldon 1990: 99, 184; Hendy 1985: 311, 610–11.
46. Hendy 1985: 610.
47. Morrisson 1994: 254–5.
48. *Skirmishing*, §18.3–4.
49. Foss 1990: 162; Huxley 1975: 89.
50. Huxley 1975.
51. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *Three Treatises*, 116–7.
52. Foss 1990: 163.
53. Zacos and Veglery 1972: no. 3024.
54. Cheynet 2002: 115.
55. There were also ecclesiastic and private *episkepseis*, but we are concentrating here on the imperial ones.
56. Cheynet 2002: 111; Foss 1990: 163; Hendy 1985: 104.
57. Seals for Rodandos: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.6.1; Arabissos: Cheynet 2002: 105; Tephrike: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.71.1.
58. Dorylaion: Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1996: 3.71.22; mitata of Phrygia: Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1996: 3.95.1–2 and commentary, 169 f.; Lampa and Mesanakta: Cheynet 2002: 106–110.
59. Hyland 1990: 30–48, 258.
60. Cheynet 2002: 117.
61. Howard-Johnston 1995.
62. *Peira* 36.2
63. Seals for Artze McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.57.1; Armenian Themes: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.5.20; Manzikert and Inner Iberia: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.75.6; Derzene, Rachaba, and Chazizin: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.59.1; Chaldia, Derzene and Taron: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.76.1.
64. McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 85–100.
65. Cheynet 2002: 103.
66. See commentary and seals under Derzene in McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001.
67. For this discussion on Mesopotamia and the seals noted, see McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 134–42 and refs and 4.55.25, 55.1–2; see also Cheynet 2002: *passim*.
68. *DAI* 50.117–32.

69. Cheynet 2002: 113; McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2005: 5.6.20.
70. Armeniakon episkepsis: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.22.14 (tenth/eleventh century)
71. John Salos: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.40.4; Michael: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.40.5., John Xyleas: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.40.17.
72. *ODB*, s.v. 'Chartoularios', 1:416.
73. Oikonomides 1993.
74. Oikonomides 1972: 338 f.
75. Garnsey 1988: 204, 206 f.; White 1970: 311.
76. Arbuckle 2009: 186 ff.
77. Yalçın 1986.
78. *Diocletian's Price Edict*, §19.50.
79. Yalçın 1986.
80. Timotheos of Gaza §16.
81. Hayes 1882: 33.
82. *Diocletian's Price Edict*, §8.1; 19.19; 19.62; *Expositio* §XIX.30, 40.
83. Teja 1974: 98. c.f. *PG* 37.393B, which mentions tunics (*stixcharia*) made in Cappadocia (*ton en ti patridi*). Although linen is a plant product, it is suggestive of the pervasiveness of the local clothing and textile industries.
84. Jones 1986: 836 f.
85. *Novel* 30.6.
86. Teja 1974: 29–33, 98.
87. Jones 1986: 862; Treadgold 1995: 148, n.76.
88. Jones 1960.
89. We thank Dr James Church for sharing his knowledge on pre-industrial and modern sheep-housing.
90. Ousterhout 1997a: fig.3.
91. Bennett 2006: 85; <http://www.fao.org/docrep/009/ah224e/AH224E03.htm>
92. Miller 1995: 655.
93. White 1970: 281.
94. Arbuckle 2009: 192–3.
95. Castellani et al. 1995: 67.
96. See also the discussions in Kostof 1972: index; Rodley 1985: index.
97. Rodley 1985: 144.
98. Cheynet, Malamut, and Morrisson 1991a: 349.
99. The aforementioned site Keşlik B had a stable, now eroded to only a shallow cave with one rock-cut ring.
100. *Geop.* 2.21.
101. Basil, *in Divites* 2.4.
102. *PG* 37.1436 v.20–21; Teja 1974: 32.
103. Teja 1974: 141.
104. Decker 2009b: 251 ff.
105. Leo, *Taktika*, 18§106–7; 134.
106. Teja 1974: 33.
107. Arbuckle 2009.
108. Arbuckle 2009: 205.
109. *Book of the Eparch*, ed. Koder, 15.1; 16.1–6.

4 If One, Why So Many?

1. Greek Anthology, XI no. 360.
2. Lucas and Fourmont. 1712: 159–64.
3. See now Kalas 2004 and 2009b.
4. Limberis, 2011: 111–12, 151–2.
5. Brock 1973: 12–13; Vööbus 1958–88.
6. Sozomen, *HE* 6.34.
7. Sokrates, *HE* 2.43; For the Canons of the Synod of Gangra, see Mansi, 2: 1095–112; Frazee 1980; Silvas 2005: 490 ff.
8. Basil, *Ep.* 199.
9. Palladios, *Lausiaca Hist.* 171.
10. Teteriatnikov 1984: 156.
11. Gregory of Nazianzos and Leukadios: Stramara 1997; St Susan: John of Ephesus, *Lives* 551–3; Justinian attempts to dissolve double-monasteries: see *Novel* 123.36 and Talbot 1998: 118. Annisa, Makrina and Basil's asceticism: Silvas 2005: 20–1, 148; Palladios, *Lausiaca History*, 116 f.
12. Basil's regulation of *proestos/proestosa*: Silvas 2005: 322–3.
13. Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Hist. rel.* 3.19.
14. Basil, *SR* 187–9 = Silvas 2005: 24–5, 375–7.
15. *Novel* 123 and *Novellae*, 5, 67, 79, 127, discussed by Frazee 1982: 273–4.
16. Chalcedon: *Acts*, 3.101–2; in *Trullo* canon 49, ed. Noce; Charanis 1948: 75.
17. Thomas 1987: 144 ff.
18. Thomas 1987: 151.
19. Thomas 1987: 154–7.
20. Charanis 1948: 67–8.
21. Thomas 1987: 143.
22. Talbot 1991. *ODB* 2.981–2.
23. Delehaye 1923.
24. Theodosius on monks AD 380: *CTh* 16.3.1 and Frazee 1982: 265. Chalcedon, *Acts* 3: 101–2;
25. Lauchert 1896: 120; in Trullo: ed. Noce, 136–7; Charanis 1948: 75. Theodore of Studion: Werner 1957.
26. Delehaye 1923: cxvii ff.
27. Church of Niketas the Stylite: Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 56; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1972: 173; Rodley 1985: 189; Schiemenz 1969: 239–58; Thierry 1981a; 1994: 258.
28. Honigmann 1935b: 128.
29. Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 8.140.
30. Thierry 1981a: 507 f.; Thierry 1994: 259; Zacos 1984: 84, no. 82. Charsianon became a theme sometime between 863 (when a *kleisoura*) and 873 (first recorded mention of a *strategos*), see Honigmann 1935a: *passim*; 1935b: 49 f.
31. Rodley 1985: 184–5; Thierry 1994: 279 f.
32. For this church, see De Jerphanion 1925: 552–69; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 12; Jolivet-Lévy 1993; Restle 1967: 142–3; Rodley 1985: 189–93.
33. De Jerphanion 1925: 571.
34. For this discussion, see first Rodley 1985: 195–202. Supplemental: 1936: 33–60; Grégoire 1909: 95–101; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 270; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1963: figs. 13–14; Restle 1967: 46–52; Rott 1908: 135–9.

35. De Jerphanion 1936: 351–7; Rodley 1985: 196 f., 201 f. NB Two of the images of monks, the image of Kosmas (never described), and the inscription of Sophia have been destroyed.
36. Rodley 1985: 200 f.
37. De Jerphanion 1936: 361–8 and fig 106; Grégoire 1909: 102; Teteriatnikov 1996: 218.
38. Texier and Pullan 1864: 35 f.
39. Thomas 1987: 17 f. See the summary discussion in Charanis 1948: 63; 1971: 69–72; Rodley 1985: 237 f.
40. Monastery of St Elisabeth: Vannier 1975: 20.
41. Popovic 1997: 270.
42. Hero and Thomas 1999: 9 f.
43. Hero and Thomas 1999: 84.
44. Krautheimer and Curcic 1986: 347; Mylonas 1987: 143–9, *passim*; Rodley 1985: 247, and note 103.
45. For convenience, see the plans in Rodley 1985.
46. Thomas, Hero, and Constable 2000: 1338 ff.
47. Mango and Hawkins 1966; Papageorgiou 1999; Tomekovic 1993.
48. Alpagó Novello, Berize, and Lafontaine-Dosogne 1980: 161–87.
49. Handjijski 1985: 7.
50. St Lazarus translated in Cutler 1987: 147. See also Teteriatnikov 1996: 37 f., 108–23, 152 f.; Velmans 1997.
51. Anticipating discussion below, we are not convinced of the possible identification of Ala Kilise as part of a monastery wanting a refectory in Kalas 2009c: 194. The unusual positioning of Ala Kilise, its polychromatic decoration, and its large size are insufficient grounds – for example, the chapel of Saray at Erdemli is centrally positioned, preserves polychromatic painted decoration, and is large. Rather, the site may have been an incomplete elite complex such as St Barbara at Soğanlı Dere.
52. Smyrlis 2002: 247 ff.
53. Ousterhout 1997b: 429; 1997d: 303.
54. Rodley 1985: 150–7.
55. Smyrlis 2002: 251 ff.; Thomas, Hero, and Constable 2000: 22, n. 6.
56. Grishin 1990: 45; Rodley 1985: 156; Thierry 1974: 195–203. NB Grishin also speculates that the relatively large number of female saints depicted in the church may indicate that the complex was a convent.
57. Grishin 1990: 45; Rodley 1985: 156 f.
58. Geyikli Monastery is effectively unpublished, with the exception of the chapel Geyikli Kilise (discussed below).
59. De Jerphanion 1936: 372; Grégoire 1909: 98; Rott 1908: 144; Teteriatnikov 1996: 223.
60. On Geyikli Kilise: Canpolat 2001: 38; De Jerphanion 1936: 369–72; Giovannini 1971b: 204; Restle 1967: 166 f.; Rott 1908: 144 f.
61. Blanchard 1981: 355–60; Thierry 1994: 315–29. See also comments of Morris 1984: 117.
62. Teteriatnikov 1996; Thierry 1994: 317.
63. Rodley 1985: 220.
64. Most notable for continuity is Çanavar Kilise, which displays evidence of continuous use into the sixteenth century, located near Geyikli Monastery

- De Jerphanion 1936: 361–8; Hild and Restle 1981: 283; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 272; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1963: 133; Restle 1967: 164 ff; Rott 1908.
65. Lemerle 1977: 31 ff.; Vryonis 1957: 266–72.
 66. Jolivet-Lévy 2002: 417.
 67. De Jerphanion 1925: 32, 598; De Jerphanion 1936: 128–55; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 160; Kostof 1972: 276; Restle 1967: 155; St Stephen Church: De Jerphanion 1936: 146–55; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 163; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1963: 137; 1987: 330; Restle 1967: 16 f., 156 f.; Thierry 1983: 1–33; Wharton Epstein 1977: 107 f.
 68. Not far away, the Church of the Holy Apostle at Mustafapaşa relied on a natural spring until *ca* 1911, which subsequently depleted. While this spring was not considered (at least in modern times) a holy one, it nevertheless was an important component in the longevity of the community and the church. De Jerphanion 1936: 59; Grégoire 1909: 90 f.; Rott 1908: 240.
 69. Prokopios, *De Aed* I.iii.6–10; Kedrenos, *Synop.* 678.17; Nikephoros Kallistos, *HE* : PG 147.71–8.
 70. Rodley 1985: 160, 162; Teteriatnikov 1997: 37 f.
 71. De Jerphanion 1930: 78.
 72. Epstein 1975: 115–20 *contra* Schiemenz 1970.
 73. They are Saklı Kilise, and Göreme Chapels 10, 11a, 17, 17a, 18, 20, 21, 22a, 27, and 28.
 74. Epstein 1975: 115–35; Giovannini 1971b: 202; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 136 f.; Restle 1967: 130 f.; Rodley 1985: 160–83, *passim*.
 75. Epstein 1975; Schiemenz 1970.
 76. Thierry 1966: 308 ff; 1975c: 179.
 77. Thierry 1966; 1975b: 82 ff., 87 ff; 1975c: 179.
 78. Epstein 1975.
 79. Epstein 1975: 121 f; Epstein 1980–1: 28.
 80. The relationship of the upper cavities to the rest of Unit 8 may not have been so physically disjointed prior to the substantial erosion that destroyed much in the immediate area.
 81. De Jerphanion 1925: 393–430; Epstein 1975: 115–35; Grégoire 1909: 86; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 125; Restle 1967: 56–63; Rodley 1985: 176 f; Rott 1908: 212–16; Thierry 1975b: 87, and note 68; Wessel and Restle 1972: cols.1029–35.
 82. Rodley 1985: 177.
 83. *Contra* De Jerphanion 1925: 43.
 84. Thomas 1987: 118–22. Constantine's 'war' against monks: *Life of Stephen the Younger* §24.
 85. Methodios: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 84; Stephen: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 25.3.
 86. Thomas 1987: 2f., 126 f., 14–3, 160.
 87. St Michael: Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 300; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1963: 173; Thierry 1968a. Kubelli: De Jerphanion 1936: 273–91; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 265; Restle 1967: 30, 161 f.; St John: Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 44; Restle 1967: 140 f.; Rodley 1985: 212; Thierry 1983: 135–81.
 88. Pakourianos: Thomas, Hero, and Constable 2000: 554; Skoiteine: Thomas, Hero, and Constable 2000: 1190. Note also the numerous other stable-worthy animals mentioned for these two monasteries.

5 City of God

1. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Or.* 43.63.
2. Firmos, *Ep.*; Arethas, *Or.* 1–40.
3. A full survey of the literature is impossible, but see the recent works of Courtonne 1973; Fedwick 1979; Gain 1985; Girardi 1990; Radde-Gallwitz 2009; Rousseau 1994.
4. Lim 1990.
5. Rousseau 1994: 44.
6. Jenkins 1956, op. cit. n. 428; Browning 1997: 96, 98 f., 101 f., 105, 109 f.; Jenkins 1970: VI; Von Falkenhausen 1997: 180 f.
7. Arethas seal: Laurent 1963. previously published by Bees 1922; Schlumberger 1884: 285 f.;
8. Ananian 1961; Thomson 1970.
9. Chadwick 2001.
10. For a fine discussion of church affairs in late antique Cappadocia, see Métivier 2005: 170–243.
11. Honigmann 1951: 109–13.
12. Chadwick 2001: 543.
13. Firmos, *Ep.* 15, 5, 9, 11.
14. Constantinou 2008: 4.
15. Constantinou 2008: 206 ff.
16. Jenkins 1966: 219; Kougeas 1913; Lemerle 1986.
17. Illustrated well by the *Life of Stephen the Younger*.
18. Jolivet-Lévy 2001: 139–41.
19. On the *chorepiskopos* generally, see Bergère 1905; Gillmann 1903. and, more recently, Métivier 2005: 288–93.
20. Neocaesarea: Mansi, *Concilia* 2: 541–544; Ankyra: Mansi, *Concilia* 2: 517–18; Laodikeia: Mansi, *Concilia*; 2: 573–574
21. Basil of Caesarea, *Ep.* 24, *Ep.* 142, *Ep.* 291.
22. Gregory of Nazianzos, *De vita sua*, 447.
23. Firmos, *Ep.* 5.
24. Papadakis 1991; Thierry 1975a: 187.
25. Thierry 1994: 329–33.
26. Cheynet 1990: 306 f. and see Grégoire 1935.
27. Cheynet 1991: 202 f.
28. Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1996: no. 103.1.
29. Hexakomia: Zacos 1984: no. 375; Tzamandos: Cheynet, Morrisson, and Seibt 1991b: Inv.290 (also published in Laurent 1963: no. 253); *DAI*, 50.150–65.
30. Metropoleis: Laurent 1963: no. 47, no. 247, Schlumberger 1875: 10; Komana and Nazianzos: Schlumberger 1883: no. 14.1; 1884: no. 28.1; Zacos 1984: no. 483.
31. Eudokias: Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1996: nos. 104.1–2; Melitene: Cheynet, Morrisson, and Seibt 1991b: Inv.1.258; Laurent 1963: no.453; Nyssa: Laurent 1963: nos. 1601–2 and 1780; Oikonomides 1999. NB the meaning of *Proedros* in this context is uncertain and is usually a title in tenth–eleventh centuries but can also stand for ‘bishop’. Bishop is accepted here owing to dearth of other titles or offices; Koloneia: Laurent 1963: nos. 617, 814; Oikonomides 1999; Larissa: Laurent 1963: nos.674–5; Zacos 1984: no. 463;

- Kamoulia: Konstantopoulos 1917: no. 3147; Herakleia: Zacos 1984: no. 108; Parnassos: Laurent 1963: no. 618; Caesarea: Zacos 1984: nos. 498, 506; metropolitan of Kappadokia: Oikonomides 1999; Tyana: Laurent 1963: no. 438, which may be twelfth century.
32. *DAI*, 50.97; Nesbitt and Oikonomides 1996: nos. 104.1–2.
 33. Laurent 1963: no. 618.
 34. Teteriatnikov 1996: 60.
 35. De Jerphanion 1936: 78–82, 474; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 182 ff.
 36. Cheynet, Morrisson, and Seibt 1991b, no.258. On the Jacobites, see Dagron 1976.
 37. Cheynet, Morrisson, and Seibt 1991b: Inv. no. 258; Laurent 1963: no. 435. respectively. On metropolitans bearing the title of *synkellos*, see Darrouzès 1970: 80. The *synkellos* was originally an office (chosen by the emperor) to be the personal deputy of the patriarch; in the tenth century he was a member of the *magistroi* and presided over the metropolitans. During the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries, however, the office was transformed into a title of significance that declined in status until it ultimately disappeared. Stylianos, archbishop of Caesarea and *synkellos*: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: no. 41.2.
 38. Hanköy: Thierry 1990; Kırık Kilise: Harper and Bayburtluoglu 1967: 108 ff; Restle 1979: 86; St Pachomios: Giovannini 1971b: 196; Yedi Kapulu: Grégoire 1909: 54 f.; Strzygowski, Crowfoot, and Smirnov 1903: 28 f.
 39. Hill 1975.
 40. Rott 1908: 180–7.
 41. Ousterhout 1997a: 48.
 42. St John: see now Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 26; Thierry 1983: 59–104; Durmus, Kadir: Thierry 1987b: 22; Kavak Kilise: Krautheimer and Curcic 1986: 164; Rott 1908: 187 ff.
 43. Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 283; Restle 1979: 36–42; Rott 1908: 102–8.
 44. De Jerphanion 1936: 240–5; Giovannini 1971b: 196, 204; Hild and Restle 1981: 232; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 253; Restle 1979: 82.
 45. Mellink 1976: 287.
 46. Giovannini 1971b: 204.
 47. Ousterhout 1997a: 48.
 48. Üçayak: Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 223 f.; Lafontaine 1959: 466; 1962; Yağdebaş: Hild and Restle 1981: 304.
 49. Ramsay and Bell 1909: 418–21; Rott 1908: 274 ff.
 50. Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 314; Restle 1979: 83; Thierry and Thierry 1963: 34 f.
 51. Ousterhout 1999b: 192.
 52. On the influence of the capital in Cappadocian arts, see Parani 1999: *passim*; 2003: 244–5.
 53. Ousterhout 1995a: 167; 1999b: 172,179.
 54. Ousterhout 1995a: 166.
 55. Ousterhout 1999b: 179.
 56. Ousterhout 1999b: 246 f.
 57. Ousterhout 1999b: 27, 172–9, 192, 241, 246–53.
 58. Berger 1998: 424.
 59. Ousterhout 1997d: 304, figs. 2, 3, 14.

60. Bowes 2008: 117.
61. Rossiter 1989.
62. Bowes 2008: 133–5, 142–7.
63. Mulvin 2002: 86–87, 90; Painter 1969.
64. Thomas 1987: 37–58, *passim*.
65. Wharton Epstein 1977.
66. Kalas 1998: 83; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1963: 174 ff.; 1973: 742.
67. Zepos and Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum*, 2.256.
68. Thomas 1987: 136–56, 160.
69. Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 15–22; Thierry 1983: 43–57; Thomas 1987: 149–63 *passim*.
70. Lemerle 1977: 31 ff.; Vryonis 1957: 266–72.
71. Thierry and Thierry 1963: 202 ff.
72. Compare to other annual expenses listed: Lemerle 1977: 31 ff.; Vryonis 1957: 266–72.
73. Thomas 1987: 137.
74. On the Karanlık figures see Ertug and Jolivet-Lévy 2006: plate 91. On Christian virtues and their expression, see Ioanides 1983.
75. Comings 2005: 51.
76. Talley 1991: 57–70.
77. Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 4.
78. On Chrysostom's sermon, see Talley 1991: 135. Rather than from Antioch-Constantinople-Cappadocia, or as Talley suggests from Constantinople to Antioch. For the debate on the celebration of the Nativity, see Comings 2005: 64–5.
79. Goggin 1947: 168–9; Talley 1991: 124–5.
80. On the Calends, see Asterios, *Homily* 4.3 f. and now Limberis 2011: 25 f.
81. Goggin 1947: 54; GNz *Or.* 38.
82. Holman 2006a; Mayer 2006; Patlagean 1977: 21–28.
83. There is a vast literature on Chrysostom's messages, most recent is that of Liebeschuetz 2011: 195 f.
84. Holman 2001; 2006b; on gift-exchange and its economy, see Mauss 1967.
85. Constantelos 1968: 154–5; Gain 1985: 277–89.
86. Rousseau 1994: 140–44; Silvas 2005: scholia 7.
87. Silvas 2005: 356., *PG* 31.1284.19.
88. Miller 1997: 124–26.
89. Saunders 1982.
90. Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 154; Thierry 1965: 633 ff.; Thierry 1968b.
91. De Jerphanion 1925: 470; Grégoire 1909: 85.
92. Berger 2002; Comings 2005: 97 – the feast day of St Mamas was celebrated elsewhere in March.
93. Thierry and Thierry 1963: 203 ff.
94. Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 320; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1963: 148–54; Restle 1967: 66, 176 f.
95. Girardi 1990; Thierry 1994: 159.
96. *Menologii*, 48, 228–32.
97. *Life of Irene Chrysobalanton*, xxxii, xxxvii, 52–65.
98. Elsner and Rutherford 2005: 1–30.
99. Maraval 2002: 67.

100. For all Cappadocian shrines, see Maraval 1985: 371–5; Nyssa reconstructed: Grabar 1972: 2.151, 168 fig.82; Strzygowski 1903: 74–7; and now Limberis 2011: 68–88; Andaemonoi: Gregory of Nazianzos, *Ep.* 249.
101. Fox 1939: 145–50.
102. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Or.* 43.58.
103. Maraval 1985: 374–5.
104. Leemans et al. 2003: 12.
105. Carr 2002: 73–7; Maraval 2002: 68–74.
106. Zacharias of Mitylene, 320–2 on the translation to the capital; Kedrenos, *Synop.* 685. Dobschütz 1899: 39–60.
107. Thierry 1972: 212.
108. Bernardakis 1908: 26; St Hieron tomb: Giovannini 1971a: 139.
109. Hesychios, *Homilies*, 872–901, esp. 894–901.
110. George Hagiorites, see Peeters 1917–19.
111. Caesarea: tombs of St Merkourios and Eupsychios: Binon 1937: 39. and *BHG* 2130; Tyana: monastery of St Orestes on a mountain 20 miles from the city: *passio* of Orestes, *AASS* Nov. 4:399; Halkin 1944: 218.
112. Jolivet-Lévy notes that the ‘Precious Cross’ is a primary theme of Çarıklı Kilse: Jolivet-Lévy 1998: 301–11. However, the painted decoration was subsequent to the excavation of the floor. Thus, the focus on the Cross likely resulted from the appearance of the ‘feet’.
113. Ignatios: De Jerphanion 1925: 489; Rodley 1985: 181 f.; Teteriatnikov 1996: 224; George: De Jerphanion 1925: 470, 476; Teteriatnikov 1996: 218; Michael: De Jerphanion 1925: 471; Akakios: De Jerphanion 1925; Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 121 f.; Teteriatnikov 1996: 218; Athanasios: De Jerphanion 1925: 478.
114. De Jerphanion 1925: 167, 601; Dédéyan 1975: 62, 75; Grousset 1997: 153–7; Hillenbrand 1995: 940 ff.; Rodley 1985: 181 f.; Teteriatnikov 1996: 218.
115. Foss 2002: 151; Ötügen 1987: 60–1. For al-Harawi’s account of Asia Minor, see Al-Harawi: 130–6.

6 Elite Society

1. *Digenis*, 202–3.
2. *OCD*, s.v. ‘Cappadocia’ on lack of senatorial families.
3. Birley 1966: 60.
4. *PG* 87.3.2976
5. Moschus, *Pratum spirituale*, *PG* 87.3.2976. On Maurice’s origins, see Whitby 1988: 3.
6. John Lydos, *De Magistratibus*, ed. Bandy, pp. 220–21
7. Liutprand of Cremona, *Embassies*, 10.
8. Baldwin, *Timarion*, 4; 90 n. 41; Métivier 2005: *passim*. perhaps stresses too greatly Cappadocian distinctiveness.
9. Basil, *Ep.* 258; *Elr* s.v. ‘Basilius of Caesarea’.
10. *Elr* s.v. ‘Cappadocia’.
11. Bandits: Basil *Ep.* 268.
12. *Ep.* 217.55
13. Mitchell 2007: 163 ff.
14. *Elr* s.v. ‘Asb’

15. *PLRE* s.v. 'Araxius' – he was vicar of a diocese neighbouring Constantinople (Asia or Pontos): Teja 1974: 92–3.
16. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chron.* 374.
17. Haldon 2004; Neville 2004.
18. Holman 2001: 6.
19. Basil, *Ep.* 273; *Ep.* 316; *PLRE* vol. 1 s.v. 'Helpidius 7'.
20. Firmos, *Ep.* 12; cf. *Ep.* 17.
21. Libanios, *Or.* 47.
22. Basil, *in Divites* 6.
23. Gregory of Nazianzos, *in Patrem tacentum* 18–19 = *PG* 35.957–60.
24. Basil, *in Divites* 5.
25. Banaji 2001.
26. Basil, *in Divites* 5.
27. See Gascou 1985; Schmitt 1994.
28. Basil, *Ep.* 115; (Courtonne II.19–20)
29. Van Dam 2002: 174.
30. Limberis 2011: 183.
31. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Or.* 43.47.
32. Skylitzes, *Synop.*, 66.
33. For women's fashions, see Parani 2003: 98 and *passim*.
34. *Expositio* §XLIV, on the beauty of the women of Cappadocia, Galatia, and Pontos.
35. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 178.
36. Cheynet 1990: *passim*.
37. Hendy 1985: 203, 209 f.
38. Hendy 1985: 206; Skylitzes, *Synop.* 51.
39. Demna: Rodley 1985: 211; Thierry and Thierry 1965: 128; Thierry 1983: 158; Eudokia: De Jerphanion 1925: 173 f; Grégoire 1909: 85; Unnamed church: Thierry 1996: 137; Thamar: Thierry and Thierry 1963: 207.
40. At Eđri Taş Kilise by Ihlara: Thierry and Thierry 1963: 69.
41. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 208–9.
42. Curcic 1993: 67; Magdalino 1984: 93.
43. Ellis 1988: 569 ff.; Lavin 1962.
44. Carandini, Ricci, and De Vos 1982: 30, 36; Wilson 1983: 36 f.
45. Rossiter 1989.
46. Basil, *in Lucae* 2.
47. McCormick 1990: 252–8; Rossiter 1989.
48. Kopecek 1974: 324 f.
49. Drew-Bear 1987: 47 ff.
50. General discussion of complex: Lemaigre Demesnil 2010: 10–16; Thierry 1987a; Thierry 2002: 98. Date for the complex is largely based on the design and decoration of the chapel showing affinity to a variety of late antique and sixth-century churches including St John the Baptist (Çavuşin), Yamanlı Kilise (near Avanos), and Durmuş Kadir Kilisesi (Maçan); late antique Syrian motifs are also noted. For date see Lemaigre Demesnil 2010: 10–16; Thierry 1987a: 42–4. Anticipating discussion below, it is worth noting that the facade decorative design for this complex appears to have been extremely different than those noted for the middle period, thus supporting a different date for Saray-Belha Kilise.
51. Lemaigre Demesnil 2010: 15–16; Thierry 1987a: 40 f.; Thierry 2002: 98.

52. Lemaigre Demesnil 2010: 11 f., 157 ff.
53. Wilson 1983: 78.
54. Cole and Kennedy 1980; Therbert 1971; Therbert 1972.
55. Thierry 1987a: 40 ff.
56. Basil, in *Lucae* 2.
57. PG 44.468B.
58. Fox 1939: 157.
59. For a convenient summary on the Dark Age, see Shepard 2009: 225, 251–4, 469–86.
60. Fourmy and Leroy 1934: 116.
61. Buckler 1931.
62. Lemaigre Demesnil 2010: 14 f.
63. See for example Kaplan 1981a: 145 ff.
64. For the depiction of these objects in Cappadocian art and elsewhere in the empire, see Parani 1999; Parani 2003.
65. Mathews and Mathews 1997 refer to the ‘classic’ elite plan as the inverted T-plan and argue for an Islamic origin; Ousterhout terms it the pi-plan and points to the Myrelaion Ousterhout 1997c: 197.
66. Şahinefendi: Rodley 1985: 33–9.
67. Church of the Forty Martyrs: De Jerphanion 1936: 156–74; Santamaria et al. 2009.
68. Plans of Karabaş Kilise, St Barbara, Aynalı Kilise, Açık Saray 2a and 7, Eski Gümüş, see (respectively): Rodley 1985: 194, 203, 58, 144, 104; Gullakkaya 8: Kalas 2007: 402.
69. *Contra* Rodley 1985: 109 and fig.106, we disagree that Room 1 of Eski Gümüş was a refectory and thus the complex was a monastery. No table is present; signs of one are questionable, especially in light of the substantial modifications that have transpired. Further, Room 1’s design would contrast with all other known rock-cut Cappadocian refectories by wanting a special place for the abbot or reader. Also, Room 21 preserves seven scenes from Aesop’s Fables on the eastern wall, the subject matter of which Gough described as inappropriate to a Christian monastery Gough 1965: 162 ff.
70. The declaration by Kalas that the majority of Cappadocian rock-cut complexes were designed with four-sided courtyards is at present unsupported by the evidence Kalas 2000: 105.
71. A small projection visible in 2001 hanging from the ceiling directly over the west bench of the table suggests the refectory of Karanlık Kilise was a modified hall; the eastern portion of the refectory (table and benches) was an addition. The eastern wall was cut away to accommodate the table, but the work was not completed to the otherwise high standard of the entire complex. The western portion of the southern apse of the refectory is also notably irregular, bearing an unusual sloping angle that does not appear in any published plan, which further suggests the modification of an already completed hall.
 Parts of Çarıklı Kilise complex have been heavily modified, especially the refectory that became a souvenir shop. Certain arguments can be applied regarding the symmetry of the rooms and entries that suggest modification after the complex had been completed, but more substantial clues that might support the idea of a converted elite complex could be lost forever. We are forced to turn to the striking similarity of Çarıklı Kilise to other elite

complexes as our main circumstantial proof as well as the interpretation that the nature of the complex changed to a holy site due to the appearance of the Feet of Christ, which resulted in the unusual – and incomplete – architectural design of the chapel.

The conundrum of Elamlı Kilise also should be noted. From the context of the extant site, the church was associated with a complex, but the entire western portion where the complex would be expected has collapsed and fallen down a cliff, leaving only the vestige of an apparent entryway to an associated structure. Thus, whether Elamlı Kilise and its putative complex were similar in nature to Karanlık Kilise and Çarıklı Kilise complexes remains speculative. But it is worth noting that all three chapels do belong to the Column Group and are generally considered private – as opposed to monastic – foundations; it is striking that the interpretations proffered for these churches fail to identify internal evidence suggesting monastic association. To start, see De Jerphanion 1925: 455–73; Epstein 1980–1: *passim*; Rodley 1985: 162.

72. Interestingly, Jolivet-Lévy 1998: 302–7 proposed that the founders of Çarıklı Kilise were from the Melissenoi branch, based primarily on the rarity of the name Theognostos, which if correct would at least show direct ties to a major elite family.
73. See Thierry 1989a; 2002: 88, 102, 207–8 for the only published, albeit cursory, discussions of this site. We have supplemented this publication with observations based on site visits in 1999, 2000, 2007 and 2009. Since we did not possess a permit from the Turkish authorities, all measurement values and qualitative observations will be verified in an upcoming survey.
74. See Figure 6.5 for Area references.
75. We assume separation of men and women in this elite complex, though the practice has been questioned for Byzantium, see Kalas 2007: 409 n. 28 and refs. Perhaps segregation of domestic space was practiced by some and not others, which may help explain the intriguing paired funerary chapels at Güllükaya Areas 6 and 7 posited in Kalas 2009d: 86 f. to reflect burials segregated by sex.
76. The location of the chapel (on an upper floor and in the centre of the complex rather than the same level as the main hall and on a wing) is noteworthy and not due to the terrain, such as can be argued for the only two other elite complexes with similar chapel positions that come to mind: Çarıklı and Karanlık Kilise at Göreme. We hope to address this and other issues regarding the complex in a future work.
77. For Cappadocian kitchens, see Jolivet-Lévy and Lemaigre Demesnil 2009: 86–7; Kalas 2009a.
78. See also Kalas 2007: 397–404.
79. Translation from Guillou 1997: 221.
80. For convenience, see Vryonis 1957: 266–72 for this discussion of the estate of Eustathios.
81. Oikonomides 1990a.
82. Mango 2001a: 11.
83. Sadan 1976: 8 ff.
84. *The Life of Luke*, §59.
85. *Digenis*, G7.46–106.
86. Hillenbrand 1999: 33; Mathews and Mathews 1997: 92 f.; Mathews 1998: 300.

87. Ousterhout 1997d: 302 ff.
88. Bourdieu 1977: 85; Deschamps 1982: 82; Soucek 1997: 403–9.
89. Soucek 1997; Thomas 2000.
90. Brubaker 1998: *passim*; Grabar 1951: *passim*; 1964: *passim*; Mango 1993: 160; Obolensky 1974; Soucek 1997.
91. The reading and interpretation of the word (originally given as *Entalmatikos* by Jerphanion) after John's name in his inscription is controversial, but does not affect our point here. A merchant: De Jerphanion 1936: 396 n.1; Grégoire 1909: 86; Kostof 1972: 153; Patriarchal envoy: Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 133, and n. 384; Thierry 1975b: 89, and refs; Surname: Teteriatnikov 1997: 222; Officer: Epstein 1980–1: 37 n.27. For a new and compelling discussion, which came to our attention too late to be considered fully in this work, see Tsakalos 2004.
92. Henty 1985: 201–4.
93. See first Epstein 1986.
94. Architectural design analog: Bell and Mango 1982: fig. 11; Epstein 1986: 11; date and art: Cormack 1967: 32; 2000: 149; Epstein 1986: 29–32; Mathews 1982: 131–4.
95. Epstein 1986: 23–27, 39–44, 55, 59; Laurie 1926; Plesters 1966; Roy 1993.
96. Inscription: De Jerphanion 1913: 316–25; 1925: 305–9, 604; Epstein 1986: 33; Jolivet-Lévy 1987; Thierry 1989b: 217–33; 1995: 440.
97. De Jerphanion 1925: 43; Rodley 1985: 213–27; Teteriatnikov 1997: 33–7.
98. Jolivet-Lévy 1991: 38; Rodley 1985: 211; Thierry and Thierry 1965: 99 f.; Thierry 1983: 137 f.
99. Cheynet 1986: 316; 1990: 268; Epstein 1986: 39; Thierry 1989b: 220–8; Thierry 1995: 440 f.
100. Epstein 1986: 10.
101. Epstein 1986: 23–7, 39–44, 55, 59; Laurie 1926; Plesters 1966; Roy 1993; Based on a 1:1 cost ratio of lapis lazuli to gold and the unit *logarike litra*, a standard measurement for gold Schilbach 1970: 174; assumption also includes two layers where lapis was used.
102. *DAI* 50.235–56; Hannick et al. 1993. c.f. Guillou 1997: 200.
103. It is also worth noting that lapis lazuli, contrary to traditional belief, may have been used in at least two other Cappadocian churches, the Great Pigeon House at Çavuşin and the Church of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in Şahinefendi: Andaloro 2008.
104. Lemerle 1977; Vryonis 1957.
105. Vryonis 1957: 266; Lemerle 1977: 44–7 *contra* Vryonis 1957: 275 f.
106. The salary for an eleventh-century protospatharios *epi tou Chrysotriklinou* and *hypatos* is unknown. However, a tenth-century *protospatharios* received 1 lb of gold per year Mango 1994a: 49. It is noteworthy that the minimum return of the holdings of Eustathios (2.6 lb of gold) is significantly above the pay of a protospatharios, corroborating that holdings were a very important source of wealth for many levels of the elite.
107. Lemerle 1977: 31 ff.; Vryonis 1957: 266–72; library value based on the cost for 300 to 400 folios per codex; binding could be very costly: Wilson 1979: 3 f. c.f. Guillou 1990: 293–305; Lefort 1991.
108. Henty 1985: 211.

7 The Warlords

1. Nikephoros Phokas, *Skirmishing*, 1.
2. Teja 1974: 88 ff.
3. See John Lydos, *De magistratibus*, 111, 115, 191, 221 and *passim*.
4. Van Dam 2003b: 59 ff.
5. Van Dam 2003b: 52 ff.
6. Philostorgios, *HE* 117, 17 f.
7. Julianus, *PLRE* 1 s.v. 'Julianus 12' p. 470; Hannibalianus: *PLRE* s.v. 'Hannibalianus 2' p. 407; Métivier 2005: 405 f.; *CAH* XII p. 496 f.
8. Philostorgios, *HE* 117, 23 f.; 119, 3 f.
9. Ammianus Marc. *Rer. Gest.* 26.7.4.
10. Decker 2009b.
11. Gregory of Nazianzos, *Ep.* 25.
12. Jones 1971: 184.
13. Jones 1971: 527–8.
14. Hild and Restle 1981: 194, 275.
15. Prokopios, *De Aed.* III.4.2
16. Thought to have been between Satala and Trebizond, therefore on the border of/in Pontos – see *Elr* s.v. 'Doman'.
17. Prokopios, *De Aed.* III.4.16.
18. Jones 1971: 187.
19. Philostorgios, *HE* 34.2–5.
20. Jones 1971: 527–8., Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, 700.8, 701.1.
21. Prokopios, *De Aed* V.4.
22. Hild and Restle 1981: 154.
23. Jones 1971: 189; for later Armenia IV see Ananias of Shirak, *Geography* 154 f.
24. Hild and Restle 1981: 144–5, 151, 157–8, 193 f.
25. Jones 1964a: 412 f.
26. ed. R. Schoell and G. Kroell, 223 ff.
27. Métivier 2005: 129–70.
28. Jones 1964b: 1174.
29. Kaplan 1981a: 135.
30. Schmitt 1994: 151; see also Gasco 1985.
31. Decker 2009b: 49, 71, 73–4.
32. Kaplan 1981a; 1981b; 1991; Métivier 2005: 154–70.
33. *Elr* s.v. 'Cappadocia'
34. On Byzantine views of warfare and sin: Dennis 2001; on military saints in Cappadocia see: Métivier 2005: 410 and Limberis 2011: 47–50.
35. See *PLRE* III.B s.v. 'Theodorus 8'.
36. John of Ephesus, *HE* VI. 14.27
37. Sack of Caesarea in 610/11: Theophanes *Chron.* AM 6103.
38. Expressed in nearly every narrative; see for example Haldon 1997; 2004; Ostrogorsky 1991; Treadgold 1997, the latter which argues for the disappearance of the old senatorial elite. For medieval Byzantine elites, see: Angold 1984; Neville 2004.
39. For early Byzantine-Muslim relations see: Bonner 2004.
40. Hild and Restle 1981: 234.
41. *Expositio* §XL, XLIV; T 1974: 82.

42. *Life of Philaretos*, 26–8.
43. John Lydos, *de Mag.* III.58–61; *PLRE* III.A s.v. 'Ioannes 'Maxilloplumacius' 10'.
44. Shlosser 1994: 49; Evagrius, VI.1, VI.18 n. 2; Theophylact Simocatta, 7.1.1.
45. John of Ephesus, *HE* V.18
46. Evagrius, VI.18; Theophylact Simocatta, IV.14.5; *PLRE* III, p. 411 s.v. 'Domitianus'.
47. Attaliates, *Historia*, 159.20.
48. Settipani 2000: 25.
49. Cheynet 1990: 217. *contra* Kazhdan, *ODB* 1:314 s.v. 'Botaneiates'; Andrew spatharios: Schlumberger 1884: 438.
50. On family names, see Kazhdan 1997; Seibt 1976; Vannier 1975.
51. *PBE* I s.v. 'Theodoros 3'.
52. *PBE* I s.v. 'Petros 130'.
53. Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 6258; *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio*, 335–62; see *PBE* I s.v. 'Michael 4'.
54. Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 6281.
55. Kamoulianos: Kedrenos, *Synop.* ii 24; Nikephoros: see above, Chapter 1.
56. See De Boor 1891: 523, no.105; Reschenhofer 1981: 297. On the problems with this document, see Duchesne 1895; Ostrogorsky 1959: n.22.
57. Genesios, *Regum libri quottuor* 3.15.
58. Although the name Boilas was said to have been of Slavic origin; see *ODB* 1:302 s.v. 'Boilas'.
59. Seibt 1976: 20–1; *Scriptor incertus*, 336.
60. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 11; we suggest a Melitenian origin for the Melissenoi.
61. Vannier 1975: 19.
62. Theophanes Continuatus 680.15–20.
63. Cheynet 1986: 290; Georgius Monachus, *Chron.* 757.
64. As argued by Cheynet 1990, see comments of Howard-Johnston 1995.
65. For a general view of events and their cause, see Kennedy 2004: 185 ff.
66. *Digenis* G2: 99–102.
67. *ODB* s.v. 'Prisoners, Exchanges of' 3:1722.
68. MacKay 1977: 3.
69. For the historical content and context of *Digenis*, see *Digenis Akritis*, xxx–xli.
70. Nikephoros Phokas, *Skirmishing*, §8.1; 12; 17; 18.
71. *Digenis* G1: 225 f.
72. On the rebellion of Tourkos, see Kaegi 1981: 245 ff.
73. Serving both sides on the border was common during Late Antiquity, when Armenians served both the Sasanians and Romans and the medieval period, a notable example being Manuel, the *domestikos ton scholon* under Theophilus: Treadgold 1979: 182 f. and later Melias. On the prominence of the early Skleroi in Armenia, see Seibt 1976: 20.
74. Seibt 1976: 22; Skylitzes, *Synop.* 93.34; Theophanes Continuatus, *Chron.* 166.21 ff.
75. Vest 2007: 2:650 f.
76. Cheynet 1990: 214; Ramsay 1890: 202 ff.
77. Petit 1902: 585–6.
78. Petit 1902: 551, 586–7.

79. Petit 1902: 551§3.
80. Cheynet 1990: 213 f.
81. Cheynet 1986: 290–1.
82. Cheynet 1986: 291–3.
83. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 203 f.
84. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chron.* 374 – we should be quick to add that the historian does not say the first of the family, whose prominence may or may not have been longstanding.
85. Vannier 1975: 15 following Theophanes Continuatus, *Chron.* 374 who offered the family's physical beauty, nobility, and valour as the reason they received the name. Silver had long been worked in Cappadocia. The mines on Argaios and the north were mentioned by Strabo, and those at Akdağmadeni were worked into the Seljuk period. Others had long cycles of exploitation, including those in the Bolkar Dağları; see TIB 2, *passim*. Angold 1984: 2. notes Argyros 'shining', citing the spiritual and physical qualities enumerated in Theoph. Cont.
86. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 188.
87. Vannier 1975: 23.
88. Hild and Restle 1981: 288.
89. Vannier 1975: 23.
90. Cheynet 1990; Holmes 2003; 1999; Howard-Johnston 1995.
91. Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 6209.
92. Theophanes Continuatus *Chron.* 374.14.
93. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 160.70.
94. Skylitzes, *Synop.*, 92.20–93.45.
95. Theophanes Continuatus, *Chron.* 312–313; Tephrike was captured in 878 – see Lemerle 1973: 103–8.
96. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 186–90.
97. Hild and Restle 1981: 294–5; *De Cer.* 495, 498, 697.
98. *DAI*, 50.133–66.
99. Honigmann 1935b: 64–8; *DAI* 50.133–66.
100. Hild and Restke 1981: 299; Skylitzes, *Synop.* 336.80
101. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 189.33; Theophanes Continuatus *Chron.* 374, a parallel passage calls the retainers 'his men' (*tous anthropous autou*).
102. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 241.11.
103. Leo, *Taktika*, 2.15–17
104. *De Cer.* 59.12; Treadgold 1995: 122.
105. Hild and Restle 1981: 135–7, 223–6.
106. For example Basiliskos against Zeno.
107. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 316; Cheynet 1990: 215.
108. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 293.55; 336.80
109. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 186.58–61; 492.53
110. Mango 1994a: 71–3.
111. Treadgold 1995: 64–78, and *passim*; these views are not unchallenged. See Haldon 1999: 101 f; Haldon 2007a: xviii.
112. Hild and Restle *et al.* 1981: *passim*.
113. Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *Three Treatises*, 98 ff.
114. Henty 1985: 608–10. who, however, notes that we have no evidence for the *platys dromos* in the medieval period.

115. Hendy 1985: 628.
116. Brandes 2002: 593, Appendix VI.
117. Brandes 2002: 405; Haldon 1984: 320 f.
118. On the aplekta see Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *Three Treatises, passim*.
119. Theophanes, *Chron.* AH 6218: *parélaben*; Tabari vol. 25, *The End of Expansion*, trans. Blankinship, 29.
120. Brandes 2002: 42; Likhachev 1991: M-8133; *PBE* s.v. 'Georgios 273'.
121. Brandes 2002: 43.
122. Ševčenko 1964: 570 n.1.
123. Hendy 1985: 638 – his figure of half, following Jones, is too high.
124. Theophanes, *Chron.* AM6281; Gregoire, 1932, p. 287, TIB 2, p. 261; Tabari, vol. 30 p. 291, n. 974, p. 295; Mas'udi, *Tanbih*, 190; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 4: 266; 6: 95; 7: 15, 147; 8: 167; see also Honigmann 1935b: 44–5.
125. Jones 1971: 184–5; Hierokles, ed. Parthey, p. 36. 699.3
126. Leo the Deacon, *Hist.* X.11; Skylitzes, *Synop.* 311.95; Hendy 1985: 104–6.
127. Seal: McGeer, Nesbitt, and Oikonomides 2001: 4.46.2. *Contra* the editors, we read Podandos and not Rodandos, especially since the inscription refers to the imperial lands of the *episkepsis*, which differs from all other *episkepsis* seals known from Rodandos.
128. On Drizion, see Hild and Restle 1981: 172–3; On the imperial estates of Lebanon, see: Breton, Jean-François, *IGLS* VIII, 3, *Les inscriptions forestières d'Hadrien dans le Mont-Liban* (BAH 104), Paris, 1970.
129. Jones 1971: 282–3.
130. Haldon 1993 remains an excellent overview and provides extensive bibliography.
131. Treadgold 1984: 630 f.
132. Hendy 1985: 638.
133. Hendy 1985: 624 f. Hendy, like Oikonomides, suggested that these positions were farmed to private individuals – a way to explain their widely variant jurisdictions, but such farming seems implausible to Brandes 2002: 412.
134. Brandes 2002: 291.
135. Brandes 2002: 601; Zuckerman 2005.
136. Brandes 2002: 584,604.
137. Brandes 2002: 364; Hendy 1985: 638–9.
138. Hendy 1985: 632–3.
139. Hild 1977: 57; Hild and Restle 1981: 71, 185; Ibn Khurradadhbeh, *Kitab al-masalik wa'l mamalik*, 110; Al-Tabari, *Tarikh* 3.709, Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* 5.196.
140. Charanis 1961: 143 ff; Agapios, *Unwan* 531, 538.
141. Brandes 2002: 364; Haldon 1993: 19–20.
142. See also comments in: *CHBE*, 268–9.
143. Holmes 2010 with bibliography.
144. Cheynet 1990; Holmes 2003; Holmes 1999; Howard-Johnston 1995.
145. Howard-Johnston 1997: 65.
146. Theophanes, *Chron.* AM 6281.
147. Leo's revolt: Skylitzes, *Synop.* 208–11.
148. Sullivan 1997: 200.
149. Dennis 2001: 75.
150. On the context of the land legislation, see Morris 1976. For the legislation itself, see Svoronos, *Les nouvelles*. Svoronos 1994.

151. Georgius Monachus Continuatus, *Chron.* 907.6–908.7; Howard-Johnston 1995: 86 ff.
152. Skylitzes, *Synop.* 312.15–20.
153. McGeer 2000: 86–108; Svoronos 1994: 151–76. Svoronos, *Les nouvelles*, 151–76.
154. Lemerle 1979: 100–103.
155. McGeer 1995a; 2000: 86 ff; Svoronos 1994: 162–73; Zepos and Zepos 1962: 1.247–8. Svoronos, *Les nouvelles*, 162–73; I. Zepos and P. Zepos 1.247–8.
156. Nikephoros Phokas, *Skirmishing*, §19.
157. Holmes 2003.
158. Amedroz and Margoliouth 1920–21: 6.29; Forsyth 1977: 406.
159. Skylitzes, *Synop.*, 339.52–74.
160. Leo Tournikios: Skylitzes, *Synop.* 438.79–439.84; Revolt of Isaac: Skylitzes, *Synop.* 486.96 ff.

Conclusion

1. Though see Kalas 2009c: 189.
2. Cheynet 1980.

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